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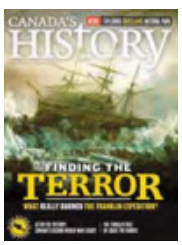

On the cover

Perilous Position of HMS Terror, Captain Back, in the Arctic Regions in the Summer of 1837, by William Smyth. The *Terror* returned to the Arctic in 1845 with the Franklin expedition, becoming trapped in ice again and sinking in what is now Terror Bay, off Nunavut.

COVER: DETAIL, PERILOUS POSITION OF HMS 'TERROR,' CAPTAIN BACK, IN THE ARCTIC REGIONS IN THE SUMMER OF 1837, NATIONAL MARITIME MUSEUM, GREENWICH, LONDON, BHC3655

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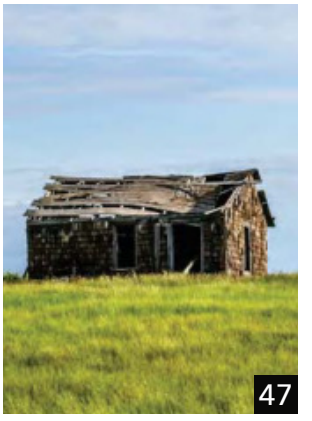

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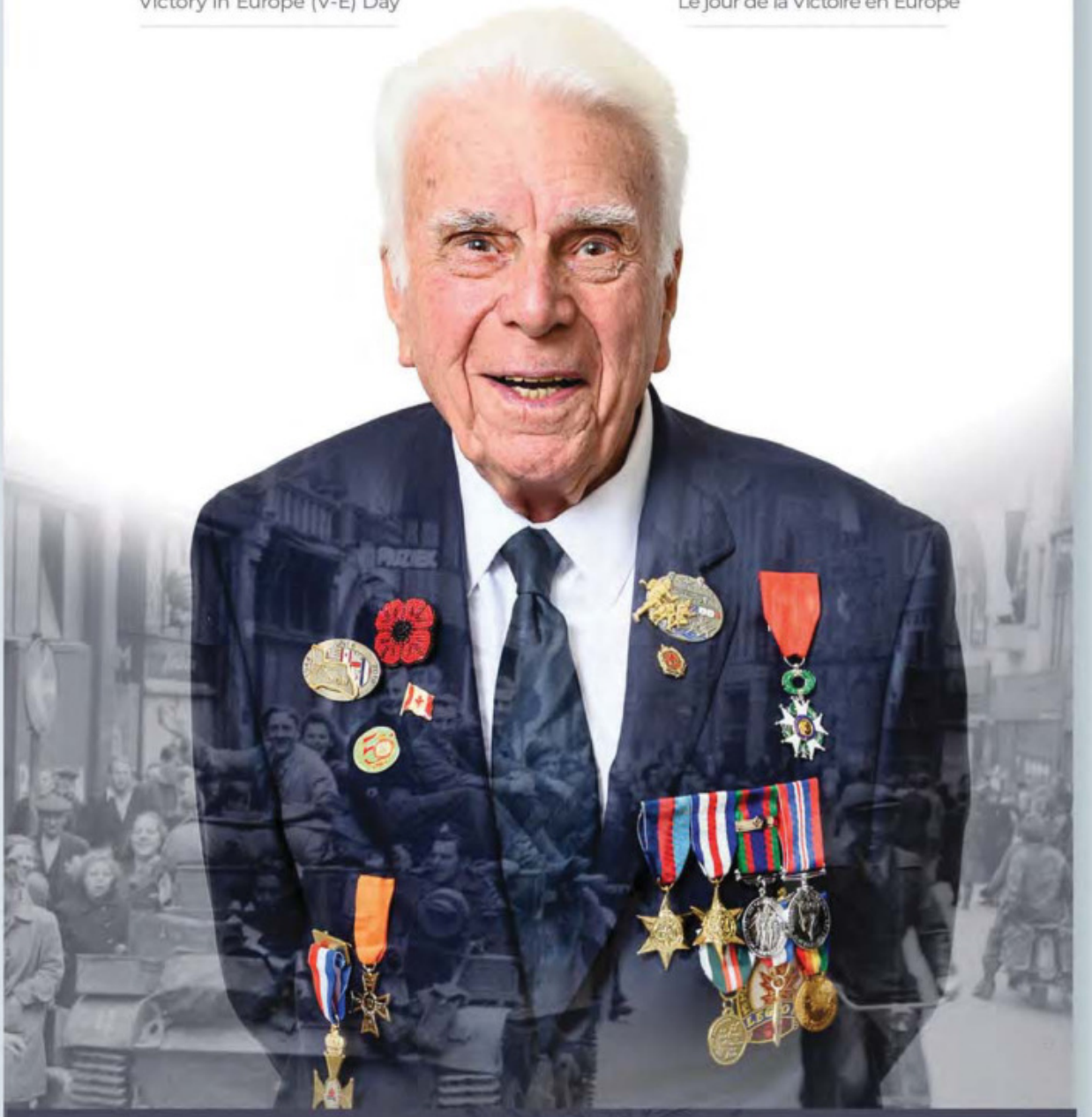

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Faces to Graves is a non-profit organisation. We are collecting photographs, information and memories of relatives on all Canadian soldiers buried at the Canadian War Cemetery in Groesbeek, The Netherlands. We are preparing a life story for each soldier so that they will never be forgotten. See www.facestograves.nl.

Please contact us: *info@facestograves.nl* and send your pictures, letters, newspaper articles etc.

So that we can put photos of all soldiers at the graves during the event for the celebration of 75 years Liberation (rescheduled to May 2021) called:

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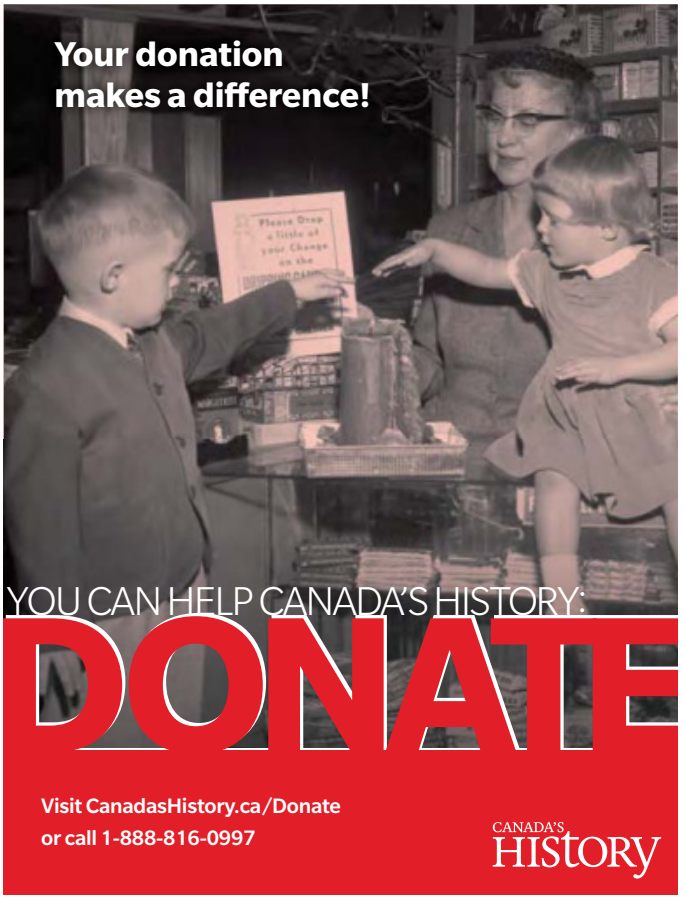

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Alexandra Moreau, recipient of The Winnipeg Foundation's Centennial Institute Award for Master's Studies in Canadian or Indigenous History

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Explorers find the remains of Franklin expedition crew in this 1860 engraving that appeared in the German magazine *Die Gartenlaube*.

Alone together

It seems like a lifetime ago, but I once played bass for a Halifax cover band. We played tunes by Canadian acts like Blue Rodeo and the Northern Pikes but also covered some classics, including an a cappella version of Stan Rogers' "Northwest Passage."

I certainly wasn't in the band for my dulcet singing voice, so our lead vocalist assigned me a low-end harmony part; in retrospect, I likely sounded like a broken didgeridoo.

In the ensuing decades I've forgotten the verses, but the chorus still comes instantly to mind:

Ah, for just one time I would take the Northwest Passage
To find the hand of Franklin reaching for the Beaufort Sea;
Tracing one warm line through a land so wild and savage
And make a Northwest Passage to the sea.

I recently caught myself humming Rogers' song as I edited this issue's story on the doomed Franklin expedition. Writer Ken McGoogan believes that we will soon discover what actually killed many members of Sir John Franklin's crew — but you'll have to read "Solving the Franklin Mystery" to learn his theory.

Elsewhere in this issue, we examine how Canada was forever changed by the Second World War, and recount the tale of a Victoria parrot who fought the forces of progress — and won.

As I write this note, provinces are taking steps to open up their economies and their societies after weeks of COVID-19-induced isolation.

Indeed, much of the magazine you're reading today was created by the *Canada's History* team while working from home. Throughout the pandemic, editors and designers have collaborated via teleconference and email from makeshift offices in their kitchens and living rooms.

We're lucky — our isolation was relative. The Franklin expedition's was literal: two ships worth of officers and crew became trapped in Arctic ice and languished there for more than a year and a half before succumbing to disease, cold, and starvation.

There were no Zoom calls or smartphones in the 1840s. Those poor souls spent two hellish winters living in the bowels of their ships, waiting for help that never came, before starting a death march south that ended in ruin. Now that's isolation.

CONTRIBUTORS

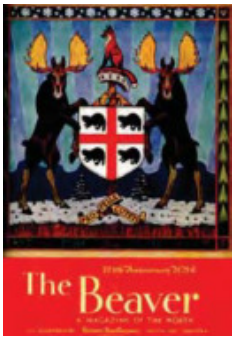
Tim Cook wrote two feature articles in this issue: "On All Fronts" and "After Victory: The Legacy of the Necessary War." Cook is a historian at the Canadian War Museum and the author of twelve books, including *The Fight for History: 75 Years of Forgetting, Remembering, and Remaking Canada's Second World War* (2020). He is a director for Canada's History Society, a recipient of the Governor General's History Award for Popular Media (the Pierre Berton Award), and a member of the Royal Society of Canada and the Order of Canada.

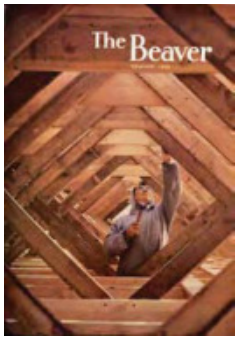
Susan Goldenberg, who wrote "Something to Squawk About," lives in Toronto. She has published nine non-fiction books on Canadian history and is working on more. She also writes a heritage column about the community of North York, which is part of Toronto. Goldenberg says she grew fond of Louis the parrot while researching the bird's tale and regards the saga as amusing yet poignant because of Victoria Jane Wilson's largely stifled life.

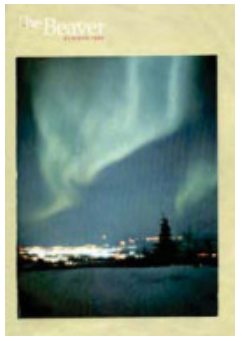
Ken McGoogan is the author of "Solving the Franklin Mystery." Among his five books about northern exploration, McGoogan counts three that focus extensively on the lost expedition of Sir John Franklin: *Fatal Passage*, *Lady Franklin's Revenge*, and *Dead Reckoning: The Untold Story of the Northwest Passage*. The first of these books won five awards and inspired a feature-length docudrama called *Passage*. McGoogan's latest book is *Flight of the Highlanders: Canada's First Refugees*.

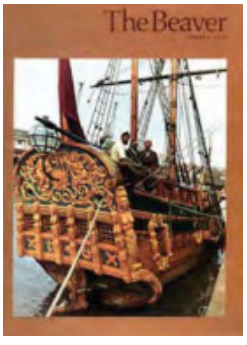
Nancy Payne wrote the Destinations article "Nature's Endless Splendour." Payne is a contributing editor with *Canada's History* magazine and the editor of *Kayak: Canada's History Magazine for Kids*. An award-winning editor and writer, Payne enjoys discovering stories of Canada through travel. She lives near Lindsay, Ontario.

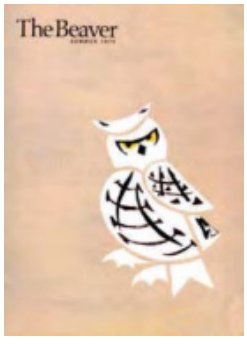
ALAMY STOCK PHOTO/A3YPJJ

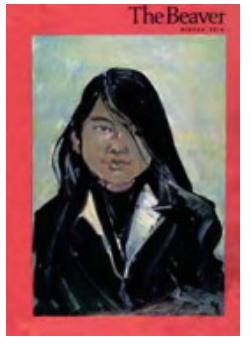


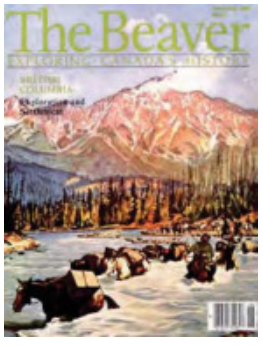


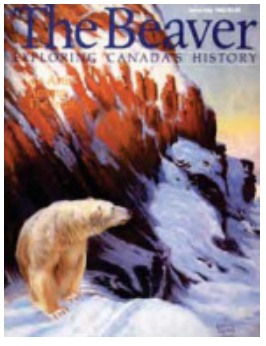












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A Sunday school group from the Hillhurst Presbyterian Church in Calgary protests against alcohol circa 1912–16. Church and women's groups led the campaign for temperance and prohibition.

Yukon's booze ban

I received my regular issue of *Canada's History* today. Of interest to me was the article on prohibition ("Making Canada Dry," June-July 2020). I looked at the table on page 26, where it shows that Yukon was subject to prohibition from 1918 to 1921. This does not match my knowledge of the topic. The issue of prohibition was raised forcefully by church groups and women in Yukon in 1916, which forced the territorial government to hold a plebiscite on the topic in August of 1916. The "wets" won by three votes. The federal government invoked a ban on alcohol in April of 1918, which lasted until the end of 1919. After that, the prohibitionists began to campaign again, and in May of 1920 the "drys" won the day by forty votes. Prohibition in Yukon lasted only until July of the following year.

Michael Gates
Whitehorse

An overlooked legacy

I read your excellent article on the 350-year history of the Hudson's Bay Company ("An Epic Tale," April-May 2020). I was dismayed, however, that there was no mention of Peter Fidler and his Cree wife, Mary Mackagonne. You do mention the famous HBC explorer David Thompson and his Cree wife, Charlotte Small, who, like Mary, travelled thousands of kilometres with her husband while mapping thousands of kilometres of territory. Indeed, it is acknowledged that David Thompson received much praise, as he should, while the Peter Fidler and Mary Mackagonne story is often overlooked.

Gord Sedgewick
Saskatoon

HBC ignites fond memories

Regarding your article on the HBC ("An Epic Tale," April-May 2020), my father, John G.W. McIntyre, worked for the Bay for fourteen years. He was very proud to work with the "Company of Adventurers," as he put it. I have the old wooden doorstop, encased in acrylic, that was saved from his office in the building in downtown Winnipeg. On May 2, 1970, I took a trolley bus to the Bay store in downtown Vancouver and joined a queue to purchase a point blanket. It has been on my bed ever since and looks as good as when it was new.

Angus McIntyre
Vancouver

Email comments to editors@CanadasHistory.ca or write to *Canada's History*, Bryce Hall Main Floor, 515 Portage Avenue, Winnipeg, MB R3B 2E9 Canada.

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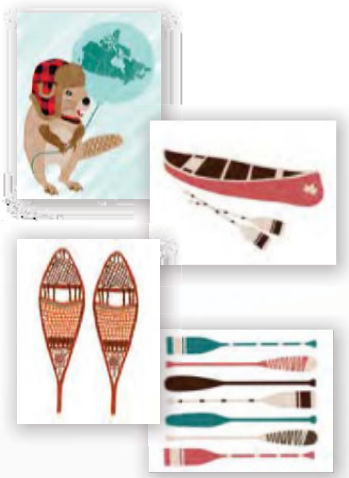

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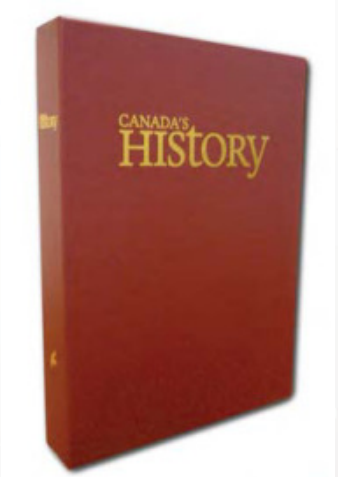

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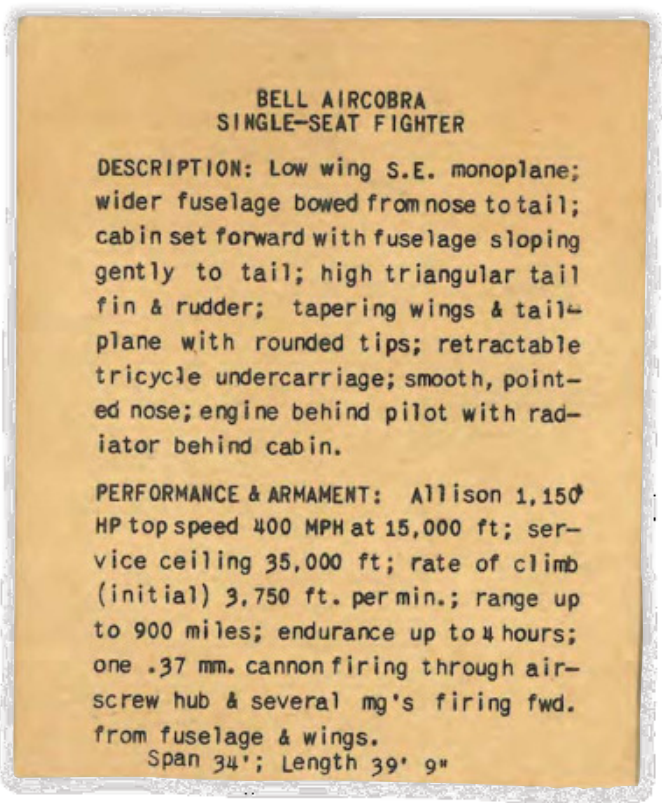
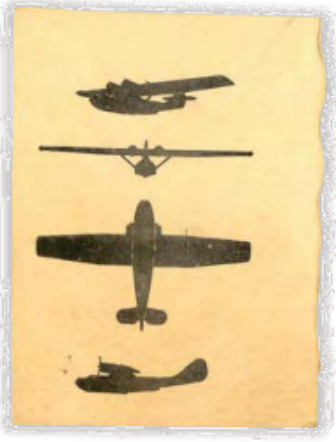
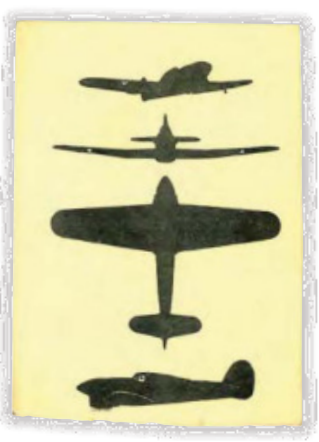

BELL AIRCOBRA
SINGLE-SEAT FIGHTER
DESCRIPTION: Low wing S.E. monoplane; wider fuselage bowed from nose to tail; cabin set forward with fuselage sloping gently to tail; high triangular tail fin & rudder; tapering wings & tail-plane with rounded tips; retractable tricycle undercarriage; smooth, pointed nose; engine behind pilot with radiator behind cabin.
PERFORMANCE & ARMAMENT: Allison 1,150 HP top speed 400 MPH at 15,000 ft; service ceiling 35,000 ft; rate of climb (initial) 3,750 ft. per min.; range up to 900 miles; endurance up to 4 hours; one .37 mm. cannon firing through airscrew hub & several mg's firing fwd. from fuselage & wings.
Span 34'; Length 39' 9"





Top left and right: The front and back of an air card show images and descriptions of a Bell Aircobra single-seat fighter.

Lower left: An air card shows images of a Caproni Ca.311 reconnaissance bomber.

Lower centre: An air card shows images of a Catalina Reconnaissance flying boat.

Lower right: An air card shows images of a Typhoon single-seat fighter.

All hands on decks

Playing cards helped Second World War flight crews to recognize airborne friends from foes. *by Melony Ward*

You might not think that playing games would be part and parcel of aircrew battle training, but it became that during the Second World War.

The flash cards shown here were owned by Leslie Dunford, a Canadian Lancaster pilot with the Bomber Command 170 Squadron Royal Air Force.

To prepare its aircrews, the British Royal Air Force made four colour-coded decks of cards featuring silhouette images of Allied and Axis aircraft. For instance, red was used for single-engine aircraft, and blue was used for multi-engine single-rudder planes.

According to Alexander Fitzgerald-Black of the Juno Beach Centre, such cards were an effective way to train gunners to distinguish friends from enemies.

The fronts of the cards showed various silhouette views of aircraft. On the back, there were descriptions to help to spot the shapes of planes, as well as their lengths, wingspans, airspeeds, ranges, and armaments.

Aircraft-recognition cards were made in the United States as well. They came with instructions and an answer

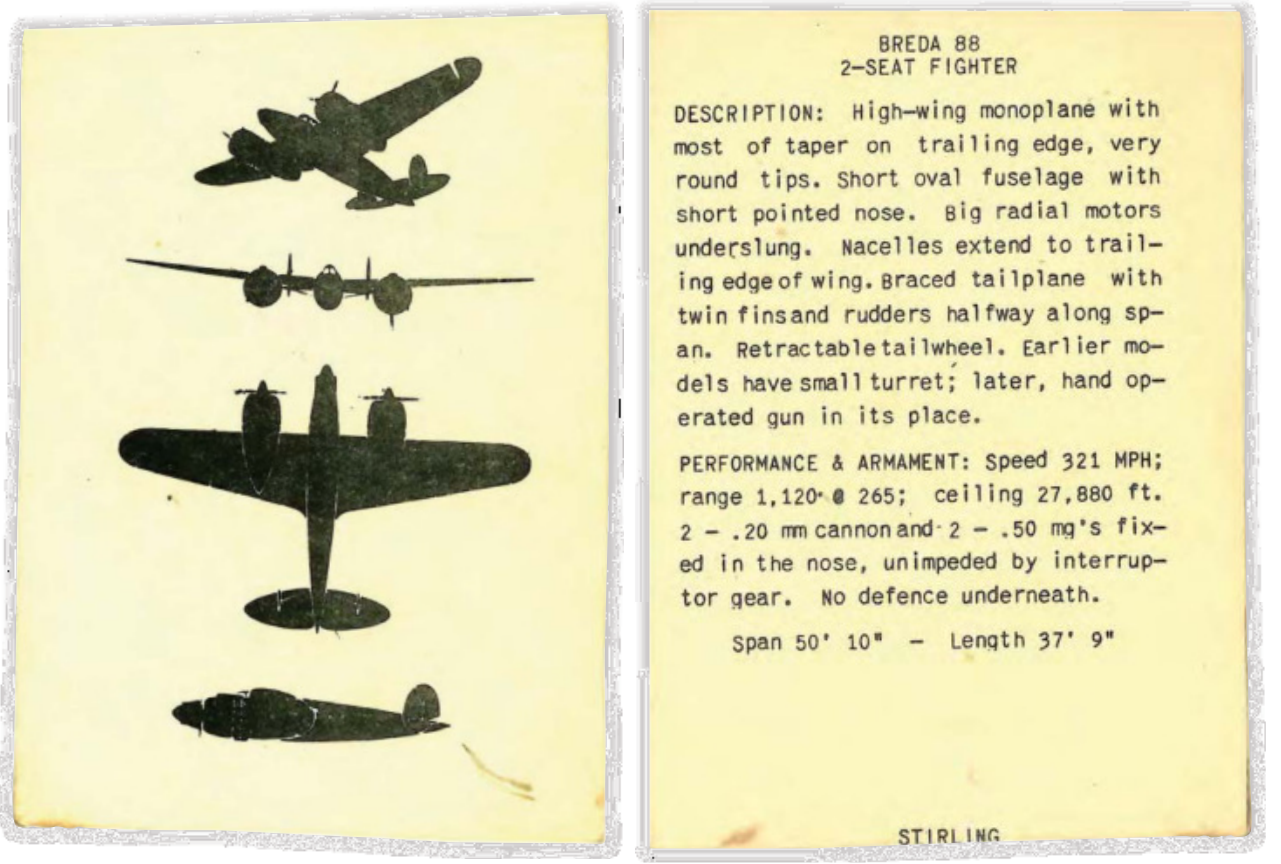
MELONY WARD/PHOTOS BY JAMES GILLESPIE

Top left: An air card shows images of a Heinkel He 115 reconnaissance seaplane.

Top centre: An air card shows images of a Saro Lerwick General Reconnaissance airplane.

Top right: An air card shows images of a Maryland bomber.

Lower left and right: The front and back of an air card have images and descriptions of a Breda Ba. 88 two-seat fighter.

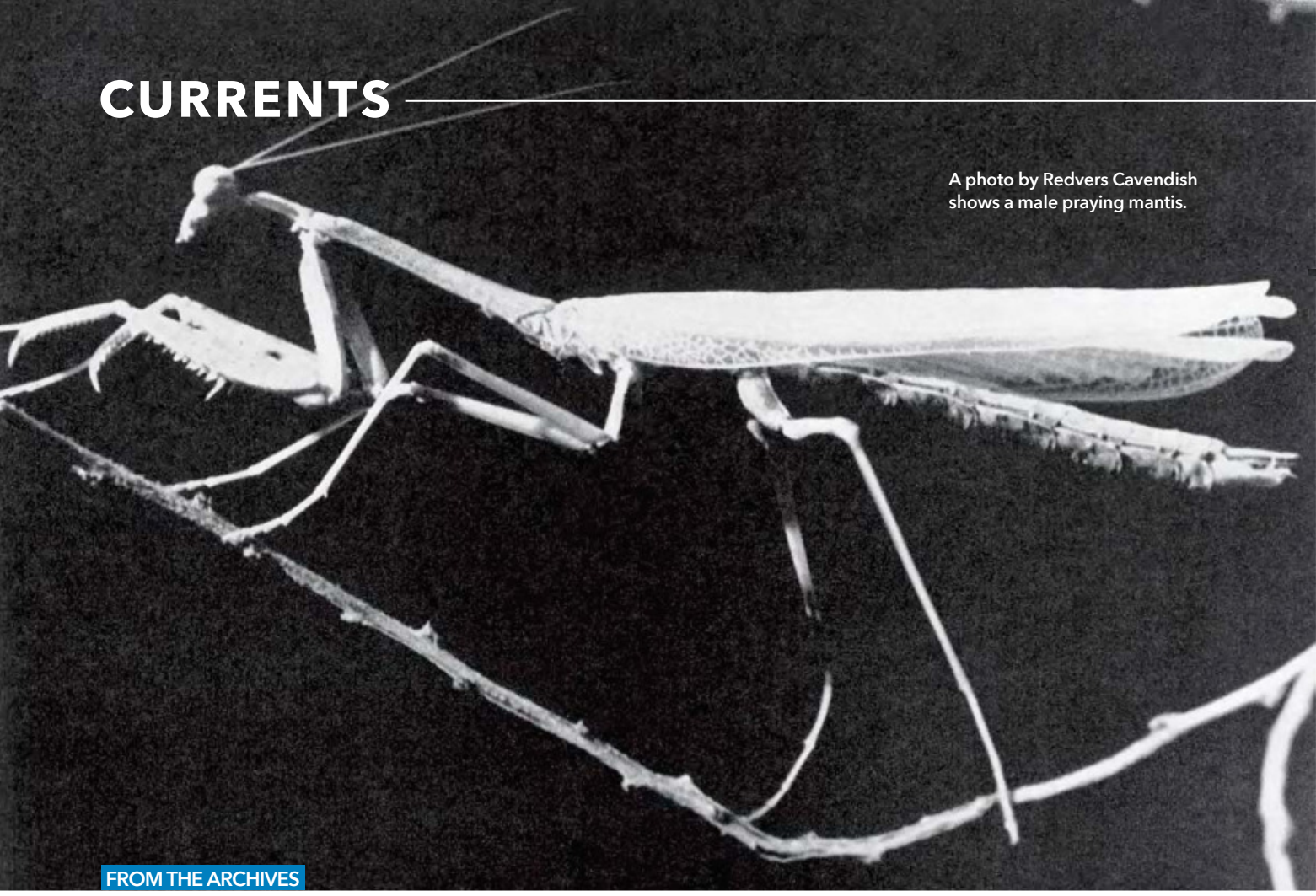

BREDA 88
2-SEAT FIGHTER
DESCRIPTION: High-wing monoplane with most of taper on trailing edge, very round tips. Short oval fuselage with short pointed nose. Big radial motors underslung. Nacelles extend to trailing edge of wing. Braced tailplane with twin fins and rudders halfway along span. Retractable tailwheel. Earlier models have small turret; later, hand operated gun in its place.
PERFORMANCE & ARMAMENT: Speed 321 MPH; range 1,120 @ 265; ceiling 27,880 ft. 2 - .20 mm cannon and 2 - .50 mg's fixed in the nose, unimpeded by interruptor gear. No defence underneath.
Span 50' 10" - Length 37' 9"
STIRLING

key and were boxed as a complete set. Even into the 1970s, aircraft-recognition cards continued to be made for military training. A 1977 set from the United States Army includes cards for aircraft from the United States, Canada, France, Sweden, Great Britain, and the Soviet Union.

Aircraft-recognition cards also became a popular item for children. In the 1950s, Topps, purveyor of baseball cards and other sports cards, brought out the Wings series featuring full-colour paintings of aircraft. In addition to the technical specifications, each card had a friend or foe designation. Plane-spotting was meant to be a game for sky-gazing children who were brought up with the Cold War fear of a pre-emptive Soviet military strike.

On April 25, 1945, Dunford's crew flew its final bombing sortie, hitting the Bavarian town of Berchtesgaden, Germany, close to Adolph Hitler's holiday home in Obersalzberg. In May 1945, the crew flew ninety-four sorties as a part of Operation Manna, an Allied mission to airdrop food supplies for starving Dutch civilians in the Netherlands. Dunford recalled crowds of flag-waving Dutch civilians gathering in high spirits as he passed overhead. They were excited not just for the food but also out of anticipation that the war might soon end. On the roofs of buildings, Dutch civilians posted large signs visible from the air, saying "Thank you" and "Tabac S.V.P."

The air cards depicted here were each cut by hand. It's possible that they came printed as one sheet and were then made into individual cards at a later date.



A photo by Redvers Cavendish shows a male praying mantis.

FROM THE ARCHIVES

Weaving a dangerous web

In the insect world some pests pose a significant danger to humans and to their fellow bugs, while in other cases some can even be a danger to themselves.

For many Canadians, insects are as much a part of summer as backyard barbecues and trips to the lake. As many of us know from experience, insect bites and stings can be an unwelcome and painful nuisance.

In the Spring 1963 issue of *The Beaver*, writer and nature photographer Redvers Cavendish turned his lens on a pair of insect predators found in Western Canada to produce the story and pictorial "Insect Enemies."

The black widow spider, which first appeared along the southern borders of Alberta and Saskatchewan in the mid-twentieth century, is a pest that can cause serious pain and suffering. "A bite from one of these spiders is always dangerous and may even be lethal," Cavendish writes.

The article goes on to explain how black widow spiders are in turn threatened by other insects such as the praying mantis, which, Cavendish writes, "deserves protection in Canada" for the role it plays in eating "pests like flies and caterpillars."

A photo of a black widow spider with its egg sac that appeared in *The Beaver* article "Insect Enemies."

It turns out, however, that the biggest threat to praying mantises are, arguably, other mantises. In mating season, the female praying mantis mates with a male partner and then proceeds to "devour" the male once mating is complete. And sometimes, after laying their eggs, female mantises will then proceed to "destroy themselves."

"They start by eating their back feet, continue to the abdomen, where they die and fall to the ground," Cavendish explains.

The article may seem a bit morbid, but it features strong and compelling photography. Cavendish, who specialized in "microphotography," offers extreme close-ups of both the black widow spider and the praying mantis in a series of vivid photos. — *Dave Baxter*

The Canada's History Archive featuring *The Beaver*, *Canada's History*, and *Kayak* was made possible with the generous support of the Hudson's Bay Company History Foundation. Please visit *CanadasHistory.ca/Archive* to read a century's worth of stories.

REDVERS CAVENDISH

Remembering Shirlee Anne Smith

She was a tireless champion of Canadian and Manitoban history who helped to preserve and to share a collection of records that today are celebrated by UNESCO as part of its Memory of the World collection — an honour bestowed upon priceless heritage artifacts like the Bayeux Tapestry and the Magna Carta.

Shirlee Anne Smith, C.M., died on April 17, 2020, leaving an immeasurable legacy of service to Canadian history. She was the first Canadian Keeper of the Hudson's Bay Company Archives, a collection consisting of three centuries worth of Hudson's Bay Company records that together tell the history of European exploration and development of Canada's northwest.

In the 1970s, Smith worked tirelessly to transfer the HBC records collection from its home in London, England, to Winnipeg, where it is held today at the Archives of Manitoba.

Smith was also a mentor to students of history and a generous volunteer who had an encyclopedic knowledge of fur-trade-era history. A past president of the Manitoba Historical Society, she also served on the inaugural board of Canada's History Society and acted as interim editor of *The Beaver* magazine in the late 1990s.

"Canada's History Society is a grateful beneficiary of Shirlee Anne's enormous knowledge and dedication," said Janet Walker, President & CEO of Canada's History Society. "The stories we share every day rely on the massive collection of records preserved and made available thanks to her work as a historian and an archivist."

Shirlee Anne Smith, right, examines archival material.

TOP AND BOTTOM RIGHT: GUELPH MUSEUMS; BOTTOM LEFT: HBC HERITAGE

Stones bearing messages of support are arranged in a rock garden in front of Guelph General Hospital in Guelph, Ontario, as a tribute to health care staff working during the COVID-19 pandemic. A citizen submitted the photograph to the Guelph Civic Museum's Rapid Response Collecting project.

Archiving the pandemic

As COVID-19 touches so many segments of Canadians' lives, some museums are asking local residents to help them to archive this moment in history.

"As the story evolved it became apparent this was going to be a defining issue of our generation, and there was an opportunity to collect evidence of the story as it was happening," Guelph Museums manager Tammy Adkin said.

The Guelph Civic Museum in Guelph, Ontario, has started what it is calling a Rapid Response Collecting project, asking for submissions of artifacts to help it record the days of the COVID-19 pandemic.

"With so many of the stories we tell, the objects come to us decades after the event. But because we are living through this we have an opportunity to start identifying the evidence now that will tell the story for generations to come,"Adkin said.

Adkin noted that the submissions the museum has received include a photo of a family visiting an elderly relative while remaining on the opposite side of a window from him and painted rocks from a rock garden built in front of the Guelph General Hospital as a tribute to health care workers. It has also received digital submissions such as social media posts and video blogs.

The museum hopes that archiving this moment in history will help future generations to learn from what this generation went through.

Other Canadian museums, including the Royal BC Museum in Victoria, are also documenting the COVID-19 pandemic as we live through it.

"The Royal BC Museum has a responsibility to collect and document history as it happens. We recognize that we're living in historic times," the museum said in a statement. "The museum and archives is hoping to gather B.C.'s pandemic stories in real time and build a longer-term collecting project to capture its legacy." *— Dave Baxter*

World's Largest Dinosaur: Drumheller, Alberta

At twenty-six metres high, this titanic *Tyrannosaurus rex* looms large over the Alberta badlands. The massive beast also welcomes visitors to step into its giant mouth and gaze out over the sprawling Red Deer River valley.

TOP FIVE

On the road again! Canada's roadside attractions

Summer is the season for adventurous Canadians to jump in their vehicles and head out to see more of this vast nation we call home. Any good road trip should include a visit to some of the hundreds of roadside attractions that line Canada's highways. From giant squids to roaring dinosaurs, here are five attractions to consider for your next journey.

World's Largest Hockey Stick: Duncan, B.C.

It's fitting that the world's largest hockey stick can be found in Canada. The sixty-two-metre-long shinny twig and its companion puck call Vancouver Island home, sitting prominently in front of the Cowichan Community Centre in Duncan, B.C.

DRUMHELLER & THE TYRRELL MUSEUM (7897901734)

▼ Giant Mosquito: Komarno, Manitoba

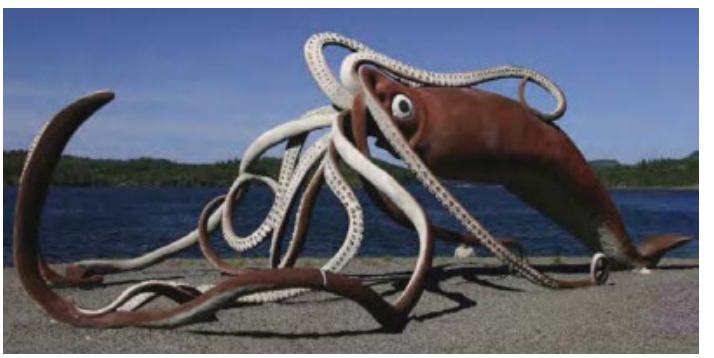
It's been said, with tongue planted firmly in cheek, that Manitoba has only two seasons — winter and mosquito season. This five-metre-tall bug in Komarno, Manitoba, pays a somewhat ironic tribute to the pest that has become part of so many Manitoba summer days and nights.

▲ Big Nickel: Sudbury, Ontario

This colossal coin shines nine metres high over the grounds of the Dynamic Earth science museum in Sudbury, Ontario. The stainless steel replica of a 1951 Canadian five-cent piece weighs more than thirteen thousand kilograms, which makes it approximately the same weight as an average school bus.

▶ Giant Squid: Glovers Harbour, N.L.

This statue is actually a life-sized replica of the largest squid on record, which was pulled ashore in Glovers Harbour in 1878. At sixteen metres long, the attraction shows visitors what it would be like to stand next to a real-life giant sea creature.



TOP RIGHT: DYNAMIC EARTH. CENTRE LEFT: RM OF ROCKWOOD. CENTRE RIGHT: NEWFOUNDLAND AND LABRADOR TOURISM. BOTTOM: COWICHAN COMMUNITY CENTRE

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THE BEAVER 1920 2020 100 YEARS

Lock and key

Tales and Treasures from the rich legacy of the Hudson's Bay Company

This lock and key were used to secure the powder magazine at York Factory, in what is now northern Manitoba, around 1840. Because the powder magazine was a building designed to safely store gunpowder, the lock was made of a copper alloy, non-sparking bronze, that helped to prevent any explosive mishaps. Parts of the lock were possibly cast before being assembled, and other components were hand-forged.

Built in 1684 and situated at the mouth of the Hayes River on Hudson Bay, York Factory was the Hudson's Bay Company's main depot. At its peak, York Factory boasted a trading shop, lumber house, smithy, cooper's shop, fur stores, provision store, guest house, houses for clerks and officers, and the main depot building that is still standing today.

Many HBC employees and their families passed through York Factory on their way to interior posts and forts, while numerous others called York Factory home for a time. Furs and other goods were imported and exported until the depot, which in 1936 had been designated a National Historic Site, was closed by the HBC in 1957.

— Cortney Pachet, assistant curator of the HBC Collection at the Manitoba Museum

ARTIFACTS FROM THE MANITOBA MUSEUM (HBC 1943-A AND HBC 1943-B) / PHOTO BY ANDREW WORKMAN

HUDSON'S BAY

The Beaver magazine was originally founded as a Hudson's Bay Company publication in 1920. To read stories from past issues, go to **CanadasHistory.ca/Archive**. To explore the history of the Hudson's Bay Company, go to **hbcheritage.ca**, or follow HBC's Twitter and Instagram feeds at **@HBCHeritage.**

Five-year-old Warren Bernard runs to grab the hand of his father, Private Jack Bernard, as the soldier marches in New Westminster, B.C., in 1940. The *Vancouver Province* photo, known as "Wait for me, Daddy," became one of the most recognized images of the Second World War.

ON ALL FRONTS

From the home front to the front lines, Canadians everywhere did their bit to help the Allies win the Second World War.

by Tim Cook

When Britain and France went to war with Germany on September 3, 1939, Canada had a decision to make: Stand with its allies or stay neutral. Canadians chose war.

Tens of thousands enlisted in the army, navy, and air force, but Canada was deeply unprepared. Even as our government sent troops to defend England, shored up defences on Canada's coasts, and engaged in naval convoy work, the fall of France in June 1940 to the mechanized and marauding German forces came as an utter shock.

Stunned by France's defeat, the Liberal government of William Lyon Mackenzie King ushered in limited conscription for home defence. With much of continental Europe occupied, a new resilience — tinged with panic — drove the creation of new military units and an intense acceleration of weapons production. The shocking German victory, and the follow-on threat to Britain by attacking aerial armadas, forced Canada to expand its commitment rapidly.

Canadians would go on to serve and to fight around the world: in the Pacific and Far East, especially in Hong Kong and Burma; in the Mediterranean and Italy; on the oceans, primarily in the crucial Battle of the Atlantic; and in the air war to defend Canada and Britain, and then to take the war to the Germans in the skies over many countries.

Finally, Canada made an immense contribution in the land campaign to liberate Europe, which began on D-Day, June 6, 1944, and continued in tooth-and-nail combat through France, Belgium, the Netherlands and Germany.

As James Alan Roberts, a pre-war ice cream salesman who rose in the army to the rank of brigadier, wrote after the war, "Canada is not a warlike nation [but] we played an unbelievably important role … in the defeat of Hitler's Germany."

Unlike the United States, Canada was engaged with the war from the start. The Americans initially stayed neutral, believing that North America was safe from invasion and that the calamity in Europe did not demand the sacrifice of American lives. That changed with the Japanese surprise attack on Pearl Harbor, Hawaii, on December 7, 1941, and German dictator Adolf Hitler's ill-advised declaration of war on the United States a few days later.

The Americans were not ready. On the East Coast, German U-boats savaged shipping along the seaboard from early 1942. Fortunately, by then the Royal Canadian Navy had won hard-earned experience in fighting the enemy and

CLAUDE P. DETLOFF/LIBRARY AND ARCHIVES CANADA, C-038723

was able to assist the beleaguered Americans.

Both countries were involved in protecting the convoys across the Atlantic or in the Caribbean, although the Americans increasingly siphoned off their naval forces for the war in the Pacific. The Canadian navy and air force took up the slack.

Canadian corvette warships again assisted the Americans in North Africa, and the two countries fought together in Sicily and in mainland Italy, although rarely side-by-side. Off the west coast of North America, Americans and Canadians launched an invasion to take back the Japanese-occupied Kiska Island, part of the Aleutian chain of Alaska, in late 1943. In Italy and France, Canadians and Americans fought together from under a unique 1st Special Service Force, also known as the Devil's Brigade. Canadian bombers attacked the same targets as the American bombers, while American divisions fought alongside and sometimes within General Harry Crerar's First Canadian Army in 1945.

In all, 1,086,343 Canadians served in uniform, along with twelve thousand merchant navy sailors who were only later considered veterans. By war's end, some forty-five thousand Canadians had been killed and another fifty-five thousand had been injured.

Almost everyone in Canada was affected by the war, whether they assisted in the many British Commonwealth Air Training Plan bases and airfields, worked in the essential war industries, were patriotically involved in raising money, or grieved the loss of family members and friends.

This generation served and bled for victory. Whether at the many fighting fronts or backing the attack from home, Canadians understood the importance of defeating Hitler and his minions. They mobilized like never before, and the country was transformed due to their unwavering commitment to victory in this necessary war.

Above: *The Spirit of Canada's Women*, a Second World War recruiting poster, depicts members of the Canadian Women's Army Corps marching alongside the ghostly image of the French medieval military heroine Joan of Arc.

Below: Members of a Canadian bomber squadron are shown in front of their Hampden aircraft in Canada in 1941.

Bottom left: Students of the Université de Montréal protest against conscription in 1939.

Bottom right: Canadian soldiers who took part in Operation Jubilee, the disastrous raid on Dieppe, France, return to England on August 19, 1942. The Canadians suffered 907 killed, while another 2,460 were wounded, and 1,946 were taken prisoner.

TOP: CWM 19750251-008. BOTTOM LEFT: LIBRARY AND ARCHIVES CANADA PA-107910
CENTRE RIGHT: LIBRARY AND ARCHIVES CANADA E011213294. BOTTOM RIGHT: LIBRARY AND ARCHIVES CANADA 3592322

Top left: Japanese Canadians at Slocan City, B.C., who were allowed to take only whatever possessions they could carry, await deportation to Japan in 1946.

Left: The painting *Action at Dawn*, by American artist Carl Evers, shows the Canadian warship HMCS *Haida* firing its 120-mm guns at a German destroyer off the coast of Brittany, France, on April 29, 1944.

Centre left: Sergeant Tommy Prince, right, stands with his brother, Private Morris Prince, left, at an investiture at Buckingham Palace in London, England. Prince is one of the most decorated Indigenous soldiers in Canadian history.

Bottom left: The propaganda poster *Attack on All Fronts* was created by the Wartime Information Board, established in 1942, to promote the need for all Canadians – at home and in combat – to work together to win the war.

Below: Members of the Seaforth Highlanders of Canada pose in the Netherlands on May 5, 1945, with a universal carrier that bears graffiti celebrating the defeats of Italy and Germany in the Second World War.

AFTER VICTORY

THE LEGACY OF THE NECESSARY WAR

The Second World War led to fundamental changes to Canada, ushering in a new country forged by a generation's service and sacrifice.

by Tim Cook

The end of the Second World War in 1945 — first in Europe on VE day, May 8, and then finally in Japan on August 15 — was a time of relief and joy for some, unending pain and trauma for others, and for all a period of turmoil and uncertainty.

Canada's greatest challenge was to move from an economy geared to war to one that could provide the goods for peace. It did not have to rebuild its bombed cities, as did most of Europe. It did not have to deal with the legacy of an invading army passing through its country like a swarm of locusts, destroying everything in its path. And yet six years of war left Canadians anxious about many things, especially a feared return to the kind of economic depression that had marked the 1930s. Canada had helped to win the war; now it had to win the peace.

The aftermath of the First World War had shown how not to move from war to peace. In late 1918, the Dominion's munitions factories ground to a sudden halt, leaving tens of thousands of people without paycheques. Economic hardship, runaway inflation, and sorrow for the fallen were exacerbated by the terror of the Spanish flu that killed some fifty thousand Canadians. After defeating the German kaiser's armies, several hundred thousand soldiers came home in 1919 looking for jobs that were not there. With little state intervention, veterans were left to fend for themselves.

A generation later, under the cabinet of Liberal Prime Minister William Lyon Mackenzie King — and especially the firm hand of Minister of Reconstruction C.D. Howe — the government eased industry out of war production and into civilian goods. It also offered inducements in the form of tax cuts, monetary incentives, and the sell-off of government assets at low prices. These steps went a long way toward ensuring that Canada did not slip back into crippling financial depression.

Widespread unease that unemployment would bring mass discontent and unrest prompted the creation of a series of programs for the one million veterans who were returning to civilian life. There was also a desire to reward

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Canadian soldiers celebrate VE day at Piccadilly Circus in London, England, on May 8, 1945.

those who had served during the war and to ease their transition to peace. Prime Minister King, whose beloved nephew with the same name was killed during the Battle of the Atlantic, believed in "giving first place in everything to the man who was offering his life voluntarily for the service of his country." He lived up to his promise, including to the fifty thousand women who served in the armed forces.

Cash payments were issued for length of time in uniform (on average about five hundred dollars per person), along with retraining programs and loans for purchasing farms, starting businesses, and buying homes. Where access to universities before the war had been denied to all but the most affluent — except for the occasional scholarship winner — now it was opened to veterans. Enrolment more than doubled from pre-war years as universities expanded rapidly to meet the rush of fifty-four thousand new veterans turned students.

One of them, Flight Lieutenant Douglas Humphreys, was unsure of his own future at the age of twenty-five. His enrolment at the University of Toronto was, in his words, "a dream that was finally coming true." He settled into his studies and believed that "the future would take care of itself." It did — for him and for hundreds of thousands of others.

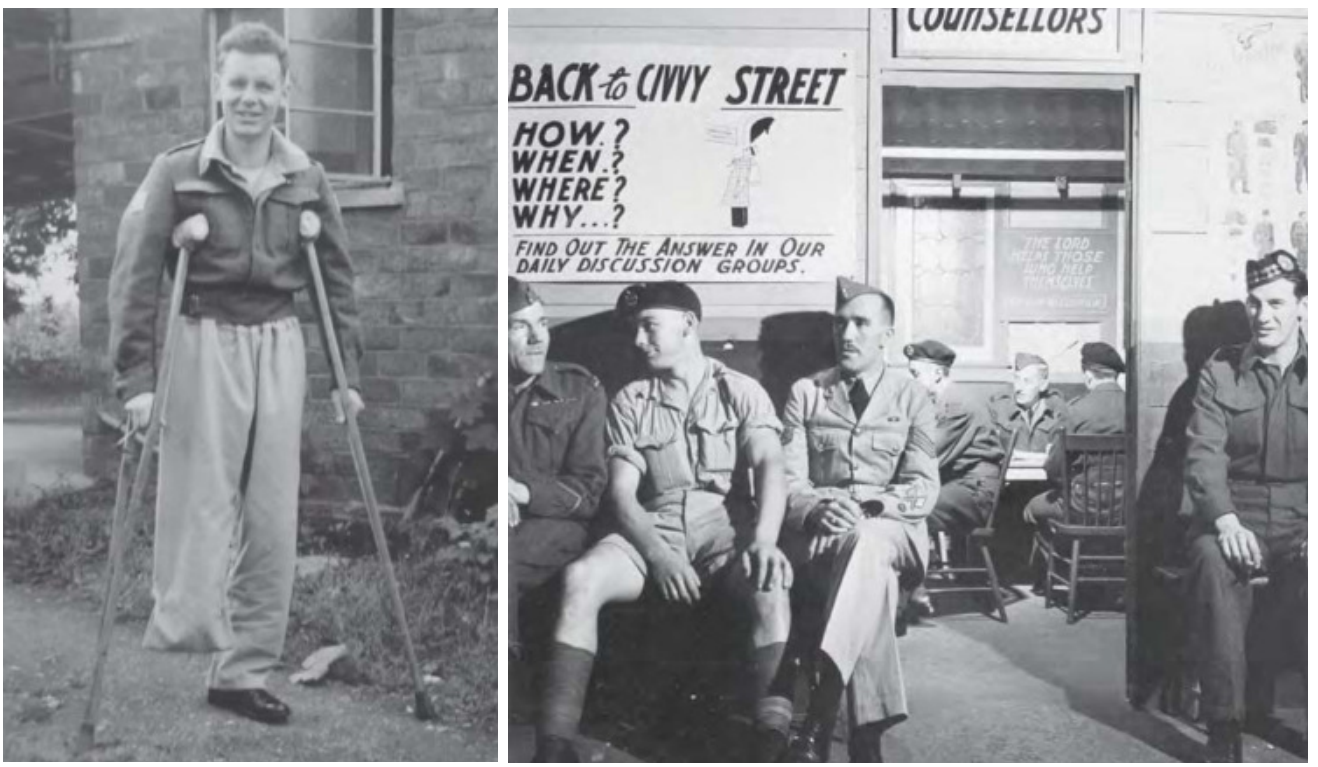
This state support — in the form of the many programs, grants, and educational opportunities — became known as the Veterans Charter. And yet not all veterans prospered in the immediate postwar years. Tens of thousands, perhaps hundreds of thousands, seem to have known little about the charter's programs. And Indigenous veterans, who numbered more than 4,300, faced systemic barriers if they returned to reserves. There they were usually physically isolated, and Indian agents often blocked them from participating in the programs.

But most returned men and women were not abandoned to their fate. The Veterans Charter was a legacy that would shape the postwar years in Canada. As one veteran remarked: "There were opportunities for everyone."

The state also sought to care for wounded veterans, of which there were around fifty-five thousand — with more than half of them badly injured and requiring prolonged medical assistance. While there was no universal medicare coverage in Canada, the government did provide health care for veterans similar to what had been offered after the First World War. Dozens of new hospitals and treatment centres staffed with doctors, nurses, physiotherapists, and other specialists treated thousands of wounded veterans.

With some two thousand Canadians suffering wartime amputations, there were prosthetic limbs to be fitted and glass eyes to be issued. Grafts were needed to repair burned, rubber-like skin. Horribly disfigured veterans underwent multiple operations so that they might once again return to society. While many veterans recovered from their wounds, others never did. The latter lived in hospitals for the rest of their lives.

Other combatants appeared to have escaped without



Above left: Canadian soldier Aubrey McLean uses crutches at a hospital in England in June 1945, two months after losing his lower right leg to a mine while fighting in the Netherlands. In later years, McLean served in leadership roles with the War Amputations of Canada organization in Nova Scotia. Above right: Demobilized Canadian veterans await interviews with rehabilitation counsellors in Toronto, date unknown. Left to right are Privates E. Robinson and D. Owens, Trooper J.A. Lenartowicz, and Sergeant E.J. O'Keefe.

LEFT: NANCY MCLEAN. RIGHT: LIBRARY AND ARCHIVES CANADA 3194885

Left: Canadian soldiers returning to Halifax aboard the S.S. *Pasteur* in June 1945 display a Nazi flag captured as a war trophy. Top right: War brides and their children line the railing of a ship bound from England to Canada in 1944.

a trace of wounds. However, wartime trauma sometimes lurked just beneath the surface, rising up to torment without warning. Sam Roddan, a Canadian officer who served with a British regiment, the King's Own Scottish Borderers, experienced the grinding warfare of northwest Europe. Under constant stress and strain, he saw men killed and maimed. The trauma made him feel like he was losing control over himself. "It creeps up on you when you are least prepared," he wrote. "It dries out your mouth. It gets into your bones and muscles. It's like dry rot in the brain and heart."

Roddan eventually broke down from the combat stress and was sent home. Although he went on to a career as a teacher and a writer, his lingering mental wounds traumatized him for decades, long before society came to understand post-traumatic stress injuries. He wrote in 1989, "I draw close to those around me, as though to make room for absent comrades now part of history."

A new social-security net emerged from the war, thanks to Canada's wartime leader, who rarely led from the front but had well-honed political instincts. King had served as prime minister since 1935, and his cautious hand must have impressed Canadians during the war, since they again chose his party in the June 1945 election.

His Liberals won in part because of their measured wartime leadership. They ensured that the passions of English Canada did not lead to the full alienation of French Canada, such as accusations of being traitors to the cause, as had occurred during the First World War. While there were wartime regional and linguistic tensions, and a stronger anti-war movement in Quebec than in any other province, especially after the limited conscription in late 1944, the wounds to national unity were not as deep.

There were other fault lines, however. The *War Measures Act* had allowed for censorship, imprisonment without trial, and deep intrusion by the state into the lives of all Canadians. But it took some time for this legacy of the war to emerge as a cautionary lesson.

Most egregiously, there was little talk after the war about the harsh treatment of the twenty-three thousand Japanese Canadians and Japanese nationals who had been forcibly relocated from the west coast in 1942. Branded as enemy aliens, they were herded into isolated camps while their goods, homes, and businesses were sold off at criminally low prices. It would take that group several decades to address the historical amnesia around its unjust treatment.

The stronger state had been necessary to fully prosecute the war, but Ottawa did not relinquish all of its powers once the war ended. In the postwar years, the number of public servants continued to grow, with preferential hiring for veterans. More programs were created and administered to aid Canadians in the uncertain time. Canadians seemed to support a greater role for the state in their daily lives, with one wartime Gallup poll revealing that seventy-one per cent of respondents wanted to "see great reforms in the country after the war."

Among the programs introduced in 1945 was the "baby bonus" — or family allowance. Issued on a sliding scale according to age, the bonus averaged about seven dollars per child per month. In the years to follow, further changes to federal tax collection and a more interventionist state implied that citizens would be cared for from cradle to grave. All of this was welcomed by Canadians, although it would forever

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alter the nature of the citizen and the state — with an expectation of care in its best sense and dependence in its worst.

A new Canada emerged on other fronts, too. Almost fifty thousand brides who had married Canadian soldiers stationed overseas arrived between 1945 and 1946, along with some twenty-two thousand children. The war brides were spread across the country and became a living legacy of the war. They and their husbands faced many challenges as they moved from the stark excitement and desperation of the war years to the beauty and grind of postwar life. Thirty years later, war bride Peggy A. O'Hara wrote of their impact as a group: "There must be literally hundreds of stories, humorous, exciting, charming, and, yes, sad too, that took place when English war brides came to this country."

Most wartime marriages survived, but some didn't, contributing to a growing divorce rate in society as a whole. Given that divorce was almost unknown before 1945, this development

From left, Canadian Prime Minister William Lyon Mackenzie King, American President Franklin D. Roosevelt, and British Prime Minister Winston Churchill attend the 1943 Quebec Conference in Quebec City.

signalled how the traditional view of marriage had been fundamentally shaken, along with so much else in Canadian society.

With savings built up from ten billion dollars in wartime bonds, service personnel payments, and few opportunities to buy commercial goods in wartime, people were ready to shop. After victory, they purchased new washers, furniture, cribs, and other goods as the first wave of the baby boom — more than a million births between 1945 and 1950 — washed over the country.

However, housing was in short supply. In 1946, it was estimated that at least four hundred thousand homes were needed. The Canadian Legion — which had been formed from several veterans groups in 1926 — pressured all levels of government to act. "It is nothing less than a moral right," argued the Legion, "that a man who has served his country shall, as far as possible, be re-established in society."

In response, King's cabinet created the Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation. This body, which still exists today with a slightly different name, disbursed several hundred million dollars to stimulate home building. Small houses for young families went up quickly in new suburbs across the country. While many of these postwar dwellings have not survived into the twenty-first century, suburban development remains a fixture of Canada's cities.

The industrial workplace also went through a major shift. During the war, men and women on the home front produced sixteen thousand aircraft, 8,655 ships and small vessels, more than eight hundred thousand military trucks, and more than 1.7 million small arms. As one wartime poster commanded, "Every Canadian must fight." It included an image of two men — one in military uniform and another, in workers' overalls. The war production at home was as important as the fight overseas in the unlimited war effort.

The totality of the effort and the importance of wartime industry strengthened organized labour, which had been virtually destroyed during the Depression years. Strikes became

THE WARTIME LABOUR FORCE HAD INCLUDED 1.2 MILLION WOMEN, INCLUDING 261,000 WHO DID WEAPONS-RELATED WORK. ANOTHER 50,000 WOMEN SERVED IN UNIFORM.

increasingly common from the midpoint of the war. The labour unrest was due in part to the federal government's wage and price controls. While these controls made Canada more successful in checking inflation than any other country, workers saw that little of the newly created wealth was being passed on to them.

Forced to compromise, the cabinet passed Order in Council PC 1003 in February 1944. The Wartime Labour Relations Regulations were a momentous win for labour, as they guaranteed collective-bargaining rights, recognized unions, and outlawed unfair work practices. While labour peace remained elusive, the regulations built a firm foundation upon which future generations would continue to negotiate.

The wartime labour force had included 1.2 million women, including 261,000 who did weapons-related work. Another 50,000 women served in uniform. Many of these women experienced new-found freedom as they answered the call to step up, received a steady paycheque, and took pride in their contributions.

However, the RCAF's Women's Division, the Women's Royal Canadian Naval Service, and the Women's Canadian Army Corps were all demobilized at war's end, with some

MONTREAL GAZETTE/LIBRARY AND ARCHIVES CANADA C-014168

Members of the Canadian Women's Army Corps take a break during a firefighting drill in London, England, in 1943.

exceptions for military nurses. At the same time, most of the women who had entered the workforce were forced out of their jobs to make room for returning men. How should their wartime contributions be viewed? Some were disappointed at being cast aside after having contributed to the victory. Others were proud of their service and of being an inspiration for their daughters who, as the next generation, would stride forward demanding greater equality.

The million Second World War veterans joined about half a million veterans of the First World War in upholding powerful ideals of camaraderie. Among veterans organizations, the Canadian Legion was the most influential. While many who served in the Second World War were still in their twenties in 1945, and so they often did not define themselves as veterans, they slowly moved to the Legion and other regimental or unit associations over the coming decades. Governor General Georges Vanier, a veteran of two world wars, wrote about the enduring value of "friendship made on the battlefield." He said, "the links that are forged in the heat of battle between men who have fought and suffered together outlive war and may very well do more than anything else to establish order in our troubled world. Only those who have been through war can appreciate the curse and realize what a blessing peace is."

In the postwar years, veterans looked like other Canadians, except for the visibly wounded. Yet they were different. They were marked by war and by their shared service. As a group, they were non-partisan, with the Royal Canadian Legion and other similar organizations pursuing the goal of ensuring that veterans had sufficient state support in the form of pensions, programs, and care.

Veterans also strained against the fading of the war from social memory; they did not want their comrades' sacrifices to be forgotten. They sold poppies, marched on Remembrance Day, and reminded Canadians of the importance of the Second World War and other conflicts where Canadians paid the ultimate price in defence of liberal and democratic ideals.

As the war changed much within Canada's borders, it also forced Canada to think about its relationship with other nations. But the cautious and tired King had made little impact at the inaugural United Nations conference in San Francisco in April 1945. He was fearful of commitment and preoccupied with domestic harmony, even though Canadians had revealed in a January 1945 Gallup poll that they were overwhelmingly in favour of membership in a body like the United Nations. (Now ubiquitous public-opinion polling began in Canada during the Second World War.) In this the public agreed with some of the best and brightest of the country's diplomats, who sought a more weighty role for Canada on the world stage.

While King did little to advance Canada's external role from 1945, much changed after he retired in 1948. King hand-picked Louis St. Laurent to succeed him as Liberal leader and prime minister. St. Laurent and his minister of external affairs, the internationalist Lester B. Pearson, pushed to have Canada face outward. "We have learned that we don't get peace just by winning a war," wrote Pearson in 1944. "If we are going to get peace and keep it, we will have to rethink our way out of the blunders and betrayals that led to World War Two."

Pearson became an invaluable leader over the next two decades, positioning Canada as a middle power focused on

CAPTAIN FRANK ROYAL/CANADA.DEPT. OF NATIONAL DEFENSE/LIBRARY AND ARCHIVES CANADA, PA-037479

Top: Private Frank Hardy of the Princess Patricia's Canadian Light Infantry shows an imitation ice cream cone to Korean children in 1951 during the Korean War. Above: Igor Gouzenko speaks with actress Irja Jensen. She appeared in *Operation Manhunt*, a 1954 film about Gouzenko, a Russian cipher clerk who had revealed the existence of a Soviet spy ring in Canada.

promoting global trade and stability. He was also willing to send armed Canadians to fight wars and to intervene to ensure peace. As a shrewd Cold War warrior, Pearson understood that the fragile search for stability could be achieved and kept through many means, including by negotiation and compromise as well as by maintaining a robust military and by forging military alliances.

Before St. Laurent took power, the world was already divided between capitalists and communists. A turning point had taken place in Ottawa in September 1945, when cipher clerk Igor Gouzenko defected from the Soviet embassy. Fearful of returning to the Soviet Union, where he believed that he would be imprisoned or executed, he handed over information that revealed a secret spy network operating in Britain, the United States, and Canada. It was proof that the Soviets continued to work towards bringing down the capitalist system. After initial hesitation regarding what to do with the explosive news, Canada shared the information with its allies.

There was no escaping the spectre of communism. Canadian political leaders, diplomats, soldiers, and citizens would cautiously find their way forward in the complex field of international relations, building up a stellar diplomatic corps, joining NATO as a founding member, sending Canadian forces into war beside its allies in Korea in 1950, and being aligned with the Western world in defending democratic ideals, no matter how imperfectly it was done. The Second World War set the stage for the Cold War to follow, and Canada would spend the next four decades navigating cold, proxy, and hot regional wars.

In addition to the Cold War that set East against West, a new decolonization movement pitted North against South. The Second World War had revealed the rotten structures that had been used for centuries to perpetuate colonialism. The humiliating defeats inflicted by the Japanese on the colonial empires of the Dutch in Java and Indonesia and the French in Indo-China, as well as in large parts of the British Empire, had revealed how fragile colonialism was as a governance system. Strong nationalist movements in wartorn countries rose up to demand autonomy.

Canada was not directly involved in these struggles, although a no longer so great Britain called upon Canada for aid amid this reordering across the globe. It came in the form of an enormous loan, which would be, in the words of economist John Maynard Keynes, a "financial Dunkirk." King's cabinet was not feeling generous, rightly believing that Britain had taken Canada for granted during the war. But King knew that Canadians had strong ties to Britain and would demand that aid be sent.

The cabinet eventually agreed in early 1946 to a low-interest loan of $1.25 billion — more than one tenth of Canada's gross national product. This was in addition to more than $2 billion in interest-free loans, munitions, and food that Canada had sent to Britain during the war under the Mutual Aid Program. Canada became a wealthy nation, with its economy expanding from $11.8 billion in 1945 to $18.4 billion in 1950.

Britain's weakness gave Canada greater space in which to exert its autonomy. For instance, King's adroit manoeuvres and his positive relationship with American President Franklin D. Roosevelt led to the Hyde Park Declaration of April 20, 1941. This was a financial arrangement with the United States that helped Canada to sell its goods south of the border and thereby also to provide war materials to Britain. After the war, Canadians turned willingly — too willingly, some warned — to the new, increasingly dominant United States.

Members of Canada's wartime cabinet were not unaware of the deepening entanglement of the two countries. It had watched warily during the war as Americans garrisoned troops in Newfoundland — which was not yet a part of Canada — by the thousands, sending warships and patrol

TOP: BILL OLSON/DND/LIBRARY AND ARCHIVES CANADA; PA-146869; BOTTOM: GILBERT ALEXANDER MILNE/© MONTREAL GAZETTE

aircraft to create a forward defence for the Battle of the Atlantic. Canada followed suit by ordering its own troops and equipment to the crown colony, fighting together with the Americans against their joint enemy but also to ensure a strong Canadian presence.

Canada had courted the separate island colony unsuccessfully since before 1867, but worried that the Americans, with their money and energy, would eventually entice the fiercely independent Newfoundlanders to join the republic. While the war stimulated the colony's moribund economy, Newfoundlanders did not embrace the United States. Instead, they joined Canada in 1949. One of the incentives was the extension of Canada's generous veterans benefits to the 2,327 Newfoundlanders who served in the Second World War and to the thousands of other survivors of combat in the Great War.

Another legacy of the war was the network of airfields and bases that had been rapidly constructed as part of the British Commonwealth Air Training Plan (BCATP). Far from the Luftwaffe's bombs, Canada had agreed in December 1939 to host the training plan. At the program's peak there were 107 schools and 184 ancillary units at 231 sites across the country. More than 131,000 Allied aircrew were trained in this noteworthy Canadian contribution to victory; and after the war, as Britain floundered in debt, Canada swallowed most of the plan's cost — more than $1.6 billion. The BCATP left behind an infrastructure for an emerging airline industry, connecting the vast country in new ways and paving the way for the pioneers and entrepreneurs of Canadian aviation.

The Alaska Highway also became a lasting legacy for Canada, while temporarily threatening its sovereignty. The Americans built the road in response to the wartime threat of a Japanese invasion. Canada agreed to allow a force of more than twenty-five thousand American military engineers, soldiers, and contract workers to build the 2,300-kilometre highway (later expanded) from Dawson Creek, B.C., to Big Delta, Alaska. The road was completed in eight months from 1942 to 1943, through some of the most difficult terrain in North America. It was a truly incredible feat.

It took some time for the federal government to realize the implications of the highway for Canadian sovereignty. It didn't help that American military personnel occasionally answered the phone with an opening greeting of, "Hello, army of occupation." The Canadian cabinet eventually insisted on paying for Canada's share, fearful of the precedent that might be set. At the cost of $123.5 million, it was a pricey way to exert autonomy, although the road was an important legacy from the war that connected parts of northern Canada to the more populous south.

The war led to other joint Canada-United States operations, especially the combined defence of North America. An early co-operation scheme between King and Roosevelt, agreed to on August 18, 1940, created the Permanent Joint Board on Defence, a body that guides hemispheric security issues to this day.

The war drew Canada into the American orbit, where it had been pushed by Britain's weakness and the wartime trade and security issues that continued into the postwar years. Navigating the complexities of having the United States as a neighbour became one of the preoccupations of all Canadian politicians in the post-1945 period.

The war also strengthened Canadian identity. As in the Great War, Canadians fought together in their own units, under their own commanders, with their own symbols like the maple leaf, albeit within the Allied command structure. During the Second World War, there were identifiable Canadian formations, including 6 Group, Royal Canadian Air Force, in Bomber Command; the Royal Canadian Navy; and the First Canadian Army. Often, Canada's squadrons, ships, and regiments were linked back to communities in Canada, fostering bonds of identity and pride, with corvettes named after cities and regiments drawn initially from specific geographical areas.

Private Nadine Manning of the Canadian Film and Photo Unit processes strips of censored film at Merton Park Studios, London, England, December 19, 1944.

"When we went overseas, for the first time in our lives we felt that we represented Canada," reflected Norman Penner, a wartime signaller and later a professor of political science at York University. "In Europe the badge on our shoulder meant something. The nationalism of these Canadian boys was a direct result of their participation in the war.... It was widely recognized that we had taken our place among the soldiers of other nations and helped to win this great world struggle."

The nationalizing effects of the war inspired Canadians, proud of their independent service and significant contributions to the Allied victory, to carve out a separate identify from that of the British and Americans. As one veteran remarked years later, "We lost our inferiority complex."

Certain Canadian cultural products distinguished the Canadian war effort. *The Maple Leaf* reported on and highlighted Canadian stories in its newspaper pages, while combat cameramen from the Canadian Film and Photo Unit supplied

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footage to be used in the Canadian Army Newsreels and at home within National Film Board productions. Canadian journalists reported stories for those at home, while service historians created records for future generations. Photographers close to the front snapped shots of all three services, and official war artists like Lawren P. Harris, Charles Comfort, and Molly Lamb Bobak left a moving legacy on canvas.

Variety shows like *Meet the Navy* and the *Canadian Army Show*, as well as many bands and performers, reinforced Canadian culture, albeit of a lowbrow form. Perhaps even lower — but highly appreciated by the soldiers — were cartoonists like Merle Tingley, Les Callan, and William "Bing" Coughlin, who depicted Canadians in the field. Much loved stand-up comics Johnny Wayne and Frank Shuster made jokes that poked fun at discipline, food, and almost anything else that rankled the rank and file. These artists helped to foster a distinct Canadian identity and created many of the cultural products that would allow future generations to better imagine the national war effort.

The need for a distinctive Canadian citizenship also emerged from the war. One of King's junior cabinet ministers, Paul Martin (father of future Prime Minister Paul Martin), had come to that conclusion after seeing the graves of men from his riding in Windsor, Ontario, who had served in the Essex Scottish Regiment and had been among those who were cut down at Dieppe, France. These Canadians who fell in defence of democratic values, he believed, should be recognized as Canadians and not as British subjects. Martin pushed through the *Citizenship Act* in 1947, thereby creating Canadian citizenship.

There were other changes, including the opening of Canada's borders to new immigrants, most of whom had been affected by the war. They included tens of thousands of Dutch who felt strong ties to their liberators, Jewish survivors of the Holocaust, and some five thousand Polish soldiers who had fought for the Allies and whose homeland had been abandoned to the communists.

Within a few years there were even German immigrants. One was Gunter Lutzmann, a U-boat wireless operator who had been captured and sent to a prisoner of war camp in Petawawa, Ontario, during the war. Like the other thirty-four thousand German prisoners in Canada, he returned to a shattered homeland after the war. When he immigrated to Canada in 1952, his motivation, as he said decades later, was that it was "the best place to raise a family."

While it must have been strange for many Canadians to see Germans moving to Canada, the broken Germany, divided into east and west, seemed fated to wallow in the war's bitter defeat. But, in less than a decade, West Germany was rearmed and a part of the NATO alliance in the Cold War. This would not be the last time that Canada was forced to make hard choices in standing by new allies who had once been enemies. And, while Canada sought to be an honest broker on the world stage, it was entwined with Western allies, both in formal military alliances and in ideological beliefs. All the while, Canadians learned to live in the nuclear age, with the 1945 mushroom clouds above the Japanese cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki continuing to loom in the global consciousness.

As the years passed, the new postwar social-security net became more encompassing, and more expensive, with crippling debt arriving in the early 1990s.

Some dark and buried legacies of the war also worked their way to the surface of historical awareness. A suppression of civil liberties under the *War Measures Act* during the war years took place again during the October Crisis in

Canadian peacekeepers patrol the Suez Canal in Egypt in 1956 as part of a United Nations Emergency Force mission.

CANADIAN FORCES PHOTOGRAPHIC UNIT/NATIONAL DEFENCE COLLECTION/LIBRARY AND ARCHIVES CANADA/E00999971

Above: Lily Warden and her son Donald visit the grave of her husband, Lance Sergeant Edwin Warden, in the Netherlands in 1951. Donald, who is wearing Edwin's medals, had never met his father.

Top right: Canadian D-Day veteran Richard Brown visits a gravesite at the Bény-sur-Mer Canadian War Cemetery in Normandy, France, in June 2019 during the seventy-fifth anniversary of D-Day.

Right: A Canadian soldier holds a photo of Canadian veteran George Kindrachuk during a seventy-fifth anniversary of D-Day ceremony in Normandy.

1970. This led some of those seeking greater autonomy in Quebec, as well as terrorist groups like the Front de libération du Québec (FLQ), to invoke memories of oppression during the Second World War. These new ways of looking at the past often diluted the memory of the contributions of the tens of thousands of French-speaking Canadians who had enlisted in the war against the fascists.

The wartime forced relocation of Japanese Canadians also took decades to come to light. By the late 1970s, the descendants of those whose civil liberties had been trampled began campaigning for redress. This culminated in a formal apology and financial restitution in 1988. Canadians came to see that, in the war for democratic ideals and to free the oppressed overseas, the wartime Canadian state had also oppressed some of its own citizens and had curtailed civil liberties for all.

The wartime pain over the loss of forty-five thousand Canadians killed in uniform dimmed over time, but it remained a jagged scar for countless people across the country who had lost close family members. One of them was Jean Margaret Crowe, whose husband died during wartime RCAF operations. She wrote about her grief, loneliness, and envy for those who were able to move on: "Nobody ever asked us what it was like to be a widow at 22 or 23. Nobody gave us any counsel." After the victory, and during the building of a new Canada, there were parents who had outlived their children, widows who never remarried, children who grew up not knowing a father, and veterans who struggled with physical and mental injuries. Their war never ended.

Canada's colossal contribution to the Allied victory in the Second World War led to unexpected changes across the country, from the emergence of the social-security state to advances in culture, from being more intensely tied to the United States to a new willingness to engage with the world. Canada moved forward as a wealthy nation, more certain of what it meant to be Canadian.

From 1945 on, Canadians enjoyed an extended period of growth and change. Canada's wartime service and sacrifice were not the only reasons for this transformation. Nevertheless, waging a necessary war against the Nazis and the other fascists had left Canada a very different country.

The world that emerged from the ruins of 1945 was set on a new trajectory, and Canadians — veterans and others — were unsure of what the future held. They would work together to forge their new destiny in the unfinished project that is Canada.

TOP LEFT: CWM19800746-010, TOP RIGHT: VETERANS AFFAIRS CANADA, BOTTOM RIGHT: VETERANS AFFAIRS CANADA

SOLVING THE FRANKLIN MYSTERY

After 175 years, searchers close in on answers to what actually doomed the tragic 1845 Northwest Passage voyage.

by Ken McGoogan

ONE SUMMER DAY IN THE NOT-TOO-DISTANT future, off King William Island in the High Arctic, scuba divers from Parks Canada will swim into the cabin on HMS *Terror* that Captain Francis Crozier once occupied. Working carefully in freezing-cold water roughly twenty-three metres below the surface, these underwater archaeologists will search drawers and shelves, systematically gathering artifacts until — eureka! — they come upon an array of rusty metal cylinders or canisters.

Controlling their excitement, they will place these items in a specially designed lifting bag and bring them topside. Judging from past experience, only when they have delivered this cache to their colleagues will they give themselves over to the extraordinary rush of having entered history. Almost certainly, the canisters will contain written records from the 1845 Franklin expedition, whose leadership Crozier inherited. Almost certainly, they will reveal answers to the greatest mystery of Arctic exploration: What happened to that expedition?

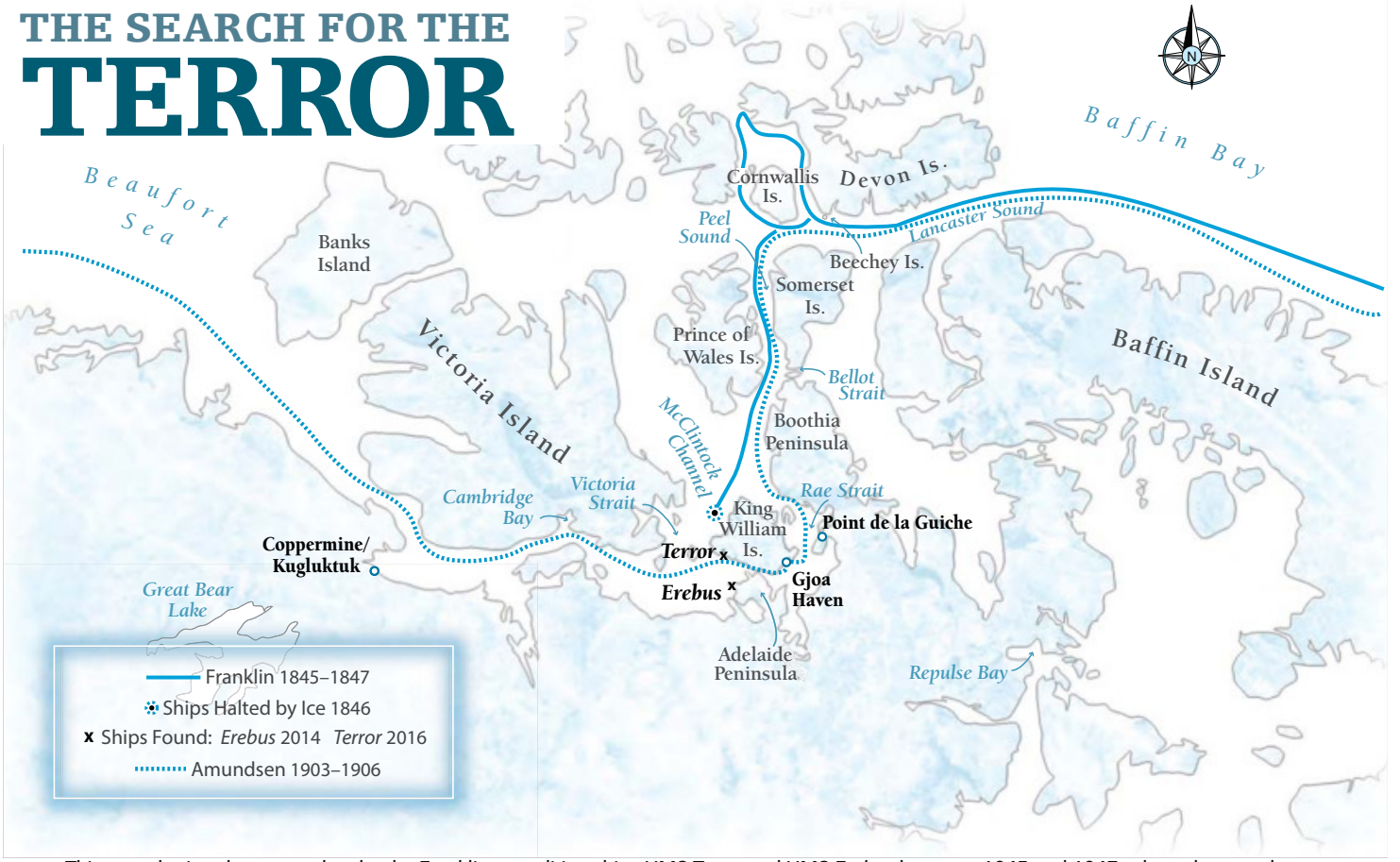
This year marks the 175th anniversary of the departure from England in May 1845 of the vessels HMS *Erebus* and HMS *Terror*. Former warships newly fitted out with heating systems, reinforced hulls, and steam engines for use when the winds failed, the vessels sailed from Greenhithe (thirty-five kilometres south of London) with enough food to last three years. Under Sir John Franklin, the expedition was expected to locate and to travel through the long-sought Northwest Passage across the top of North America and to emerge into the Pacific Ocean trailing clouds of glory.

Those ships, as many readers will know, ended up halfway through the passage at the bottom of the sea. Canadian searchers located the wreck of the *Erebus* in 2014 and that of the *Terror* two years later. Since those discoveries, Parks Canada divers have been investigating the two ships

HMS Erebus in the Ice, 1846, by Belgian marine artist François Etienne Musin. Musin's painting shows the vessel surrounded by icebergs but still in open water. In the foreground, the ship's crew is busy moving smaller crafts across the ice.

NATIONAL MARITIME MUSEUM, GREENWICH, LONDON, CAIRD COLLECTION BHC3325

THE SEARCH FOR THE TERROR



This map depicts the route taken by the Franklin expedition ships HMS *Terror* and HMS *Erebus* between 1845 and 1847, where the vessels became trapped in ice, and where they were found much later by underwater divers. Also shown is the route Norwegian explorer Roald Amundsen travelled between 1903 and 1906 to become the first mariner to navigate the Northwest Passage by sea.

whenever Arctic conditions permit — usually for a week or ten days in late July or August. From the *Erebus*, just eleven metres below the surface, they have brought up dozens of relics, among them the ship's bell.

In August 2019, during an exceptional seven-day calm, investigators got a first extended look at the wreck of the *Terror*. They dropped a remotely operated vehicle, an ROV, through a hatch on the ship's upper deck and steered it around to explore twenty compartments on a single deck. In a statement released by Parks Canada, underwater archaeologist Ryan Harris — who operated the ROV — said the *Terror* is so well-preserved that it looks like "a ship only recently deserted by its crew, seemingly forgotten by the passage of time." The video he captured shows china plates and bottles still stacked on shelves, weapons still standing in their racks, and officers' cabins looking neat, trim, and ready for inspection.

Underwater archaeology manager Marc-André Bernier was especially struck by the pristine condition of Crozier's cabin, which greatly surpassed the team's expectations. "Not only are the furniture and cabinets in place," he said, "drawers are closed and many are buried in silt, encapsulating objects and documents in the best possible conditions for their survival. Each drawer and other enclosed space will be a treasure trove of unprecedented information on the fate of the Franklin expedition." A buildup of sediment blocked access to Crozier's sleeping quarters, which obviously cry out for inspection.

Sir John Franklin

Captain Francis Crozier

Captain James Fitzjames

Jane, Lady Franklin

TOP: HEARTLAND PUBLICATIONS. BOTTOM LEFT TO RIGHT: PUBLIC DOMAIN

Back in 2017, while sailing in the Northwest Passage as a resource historian with Adventure Canada, I caught a presentation by Bernier. Speaking generally about the two Franklin ships, he flatly declared: "I expect to find human remains. Most likely bones, skeletons." Bernier reminded his listeners that Inuit testimony speaks of at least one body on what would appear to be the *Erebus*, and he added that he had seen flesh on bones before. "If sedimented, the remains could be very well preserved." He cited the example of a wreck from 1770, HMS *Swift*, which researchers located in Patagonia: "They found a complete skeleton in uniform."

While Bernier showed slides about the Parks Canada search, we sailed into a blizzard. As our ship, the *Ocean Endeavour*, heaved and rolled, some of us shuddered to think about facing such conditions in a small wooden ship. And we found ourselves doing a quick calculation. The *Endeavour* is no multi-storey cruise ship, but it is still more than four times as long as HMS *Erebus* (137 metres to 32) and more than twice as wide (21 metres to 9). The *Terror* was smaller still.

The storm raged unabated into late afternoon. When Bernier finished presenting, he hurried up onto the bridge to confer. He had been planning to lead a visit to the site of the *Erebus*, where some of us would go snorkelling. But, with the swell reaching 1.5 metres, the wind gusting to gale force (upwards of fifty knots), and the *Endeavour* needing to navigate a narrow channel (0.3 to 0.6 nautical miles) to reach the site, the undertaking was clearly in jeopardy.

At the evening briefing, Bernier and Adventure Canada's expedition leader, Matthew J. Swan, relayed the bad news. We would not be visiting the *Erebus* site after all. Swan said the thought of putting Zodiacs into the water when the winds were blowing at more than 25 knots ... sending out passengers on a forty-minute Zodiac ride each way ... no, he couldn't see it: "The Zodiacs would just flip." Bernier revealed that several Inuit guardians had established a five-tent campsite on an island near the wreck, but, he said, "three of those tents have blown off."

Bernier regretfully rejected the idea that maybe we could wait out the storm where we were. Speaking from experience, he said these wind-and-wave conditions would already have stirred up sediment so badly that at best the wreck would become visible in three days. And, if the storm continued, we might have to wait a week. Swan could only shake his head: "We're disappointed, of course. But we're motivated. We'll try again next year."

So they did. But not until two years later, on its sixth attempt, did Adventure Canada get voyagers to the site of the *Erebus*. There was no snorkelling, but passengers did travel by Zodiac through choppy waters to a Parks Canada barge positioned above the wreck, where they met archaeologists and Inuit guardians and watched real-time video of divers at work below.

Ushered into an artifacts lab on the barge, the visitors studied newly discovered objects, among them a ceramic bottle, a leather boot sole, a glass decanter, and tiny tongs that may once have been used for sugar cubes. Travel writer Jennifer Bain wrote later that, "Looking at these ancient objects transports us back to 1845, when Franklin and his men set sail from England on two ships, convinced they would find the fabled Northwest Passage."

What happened to that expedition? Starting with the sailing from England in May 1845, the prevailing British narrative of the Franklin mystery tracks the final letters sent from the ships in July 1845 and moves through the discovery in 1850 of three graves on Beechey Island. Those graves showed that Franklin had wintered on Beechey in 1845–46, but an intensive search of the island begun by Scottish whaling captain William Penny and American explorer Elisha Kent Kane turned up no indication of where the two ships had gone from there.

Subsequent search expeditions sent by the Royal Navy, the Hudson's Bay Company — whose charter stipulated exploration — and Jane, Lady Franklin (widow of Sir John) produced no significant findings until 1854, when the Inuit made the first of many crucial contributions to discovering what came to be summarized as "the fate of Franklin."

In April of that year, on the west coast of Boothia Pen-

Clockwise from top: A Parks Canada underwater archeologist examines the deck of HMS *Erebus*, which was discovered in 2014. Parks Canada divers examine a diagram of the sunken ship in 2017. A hook block recovered from the wreck is displayed at the Canadian Museum of History in Gatineau, Quebec, in 2015.

CLOCKWISE FROM TOP: © PARKS CANADA; MARC-ANDRÉ BERNIER; THE CANADIAN PRESS/JASON FRANSON; © PARKS CANADA; THIERRY BOYER; THE CANADIAN PRESS/JUSTIN TANG; THE CANADIAN PRESS/ADRIAN WYLD

insula, an Inuk named In-nook-poo-zhe-jook revealed to HBC explorer John Rae that the Franklin expedition had ended in catastrophe. With the help of William Ouligbuck Jr., the finest Inuit interpreter of the era, Rae interviewed In-nook-poo-zhe-jook and more than a dozen other Inuit. They told him that a ship had sunk off the west coast of King William Island; that thirty-five or forty starving sailors had straggled south along that coast; and that some of the final survivors had been driven to cannibalism.

These revelations sparked an extraordinary backlash, with no less a figure than Charles Dickens writing two long screeds denouncing Rae and the Inuit. Rae's findings radically narrowed the search area. And in 1859 a search expedition financed by Lady Franklin and led by naval officer Leopold McClintock turned up the "Victory Point note" — the only written document yet found from a member of the expedition illuminating its ultimate fate.

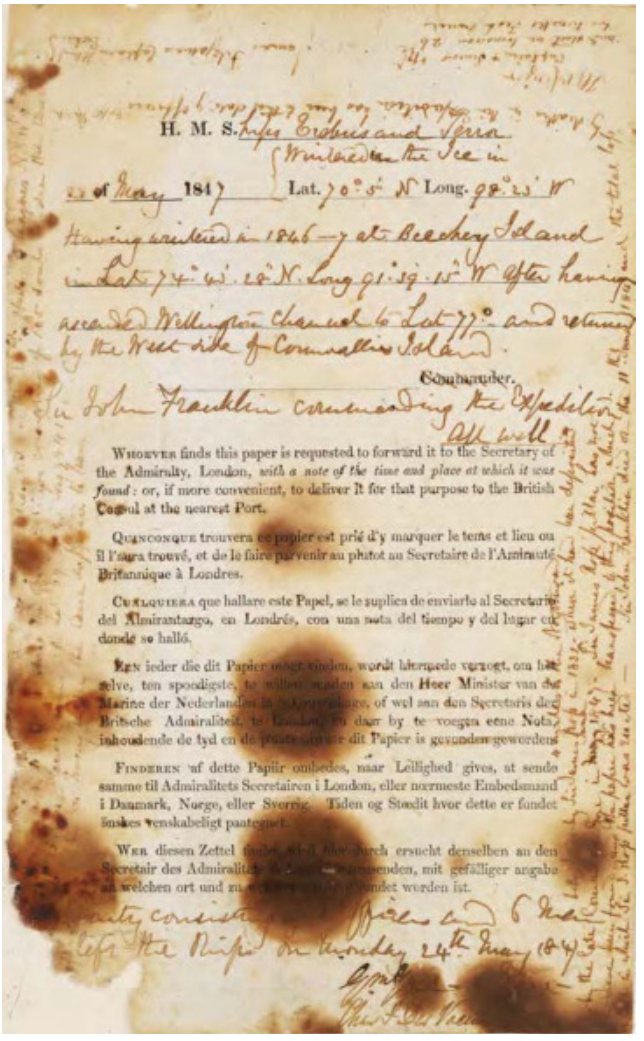
That note indicated that in 1848, with the ships trapped in ice and twenty-four men already dead, John Franklin among them, the remaining 105 men abandoned the ships and set out marching southward towards the Arctic coast. McClintock also found dead bodies, an abandoned lifeboat, and numerous small artifacts, all of which raised more questions than they answered.

In the 1860s, following the discovery of the Victory Point note, the fluent-English-speaking woman Tookoolito, together with her husband, Ebierbing, enabled the American Charles Francis Hall to interview Inuit who had actually gone aboard one of the ships before it sank. They provided invaluable eyewitness accounts that would later give rise to theories about what had happened to the expedition.

And, in the 1870s, an Inuk named Tulugaq, working with Ebierbing, guided the American Frederick Schwatka in searching for written records along the coasts of the continent and King William Island. They found none but unearthed still more bodies, new locations, and eyewitness accounts. To these searchers, an aging Inuk named Puhtoorak said that in the early 1850s he had visited a big ship frozen in the ice and had seen the body of a dead white man lying in a bunk. He pointed to a location near where, more than a century later, the *Erebus* was eventually found.

Without these Inuit guides and translators, the truth of the Franklin expedition would never even have begun to emerge. Through the twentieth century, scholars and researchers published works and debated theories, but Inuit testimony provided the breakthrough. In 1991, after sifting through hundreds of pages of Inuit testimony gathered by Charles Francis Hall with the help of Tookoolito and Ebierbing, Canadian David C. Woodman published *Unravelling the Franklin Mystery: Inuit Testimony*, which offered a new, more complex reconstruction of the final months of the expedition.

Woodman argued that some of the 105 men who abandoned the two ships in 1848 later returned to one of them and remained aboard as it travelled south in the ice, with some men surviving as late as 1851. He provided a rough geography for more focused ship searches. The late Inuit historian Louis Kamookak (1959–2018), who spent much of his adult life investigating the Franklin story, was one of those who then pointed the way to the 2014 discovery of *Erebus*. A second hunter from Gjoa Haven, Sammy Kogvik, led the way to the 2016 finding of *Terror*. The Indigenous contribution can hardly be overstated (see the sidebar on page 40).


H. M. S. ships Erebus and Terror
(Wintered in the Ice in
Lat. 70° 5′ N Long. 98° 23′ W
Having wintered in 1846–7 at Beechey Island
in Lat. 74° 43′ 28″ N Long. 91° 39′ 15″ W after having
ascended Wellington Channel to Lat. 77° and returned
by the West side of Cornwallis Island.
Commander.
Sir John Franklin commanding the Expedition
All well
Whoever finds this paper is requested to forward it to the Secretary of the Admiralty, London, *with a note of the time and place at which it was found*: or, if more convenient, to deliver it for that purpose to the British Consul at the nearest Port.
Quiconque trouvera ce papier est prié d'y marquer le tems et lieu où il l'aura trouvé, et de le faire parvenir au plutot au Secretaire de l'Amirauté Britannique à Londres.
Cualquiera que hallare este Papel, se le suplica de enviarlo al Secretario del Almirantazgo, en Londrés, con una nota del tiempo y del lugar en donde se halló.
Den ieder die dit Papier mogt vinden, wordt hiermede verzogt, om hetselve, ten spoedigste, te willen zenden aan den Heer Minister van de Marine der Nederlanden in 's Gravenhage, of wel aan den Secretaris der Britsche Admiraliteit, te London, en daar by te voegen eene Nota, inhoudende de tyd en de plaats alwaar dit Papier is gevonden geworden.
Finderen af dette Papir anmodes, naar Leilighed gives, at sende samme til Admiralitets Secretairen i London, eller nærmeste Embedsmand i Danmark, Norge, eller Sverrig. Tiden og Stedet hvor dette er fundet ønskes venskabeligt paategnet.
Wer diesen Zettel finden wird, wird hierdurch ersucht denselben an den Secretair des Admiralitäts [illegible] zu senden, mit gefälliger angabe an welchen ort und zu welcher zeit [illegible] gefunden worden ist.
[illegible] consisting of 105 souls
left the Ships on Monday 24th May 1847
Gm Gore
Chas Fred Vane

The Victory Point note is the last known written record of the Franklin expedition's status. It was put in a cairn on King William Island in May 1847 and annotated a year later by Lieutenant G.M. Gore.

Nor would any commemoration of the lost Franklin expedition be complete without recognizing the role and the machinations of Jane, Lady Franklin. First, despite intense opposition, she got her husband appointed leader of the 1845 undertaking. At age fifty-nine, overweight, and out of shape, John Franklin was nobody's first choice. Working behind the scenes, Lady Franklin secured the backing of several influential figures, foremost among them James Clark Ross, the clear front-runner who did not want the leadership. Some argued that Franklin was not healthy enough to survive another Arctic winter, and his

NATIONAL MARITIME MUSEUM, GREENWICH, LONDON, HSR/C/9/1

'They forged the last links with their lives': Sir John Franklin's men dying by their boat during the North-West Passage expedition, by William Thomas Smith, circa 1895.

early death (June 1847) does raise questions.

After the two ships disappeared, Lady Franklin orchestrated an unprecedented search. Between 1848 and 1859, she variously organized, inspired, or financed eleven of the thirty-five search expeditions sent out by Great Britain and the United States — nearly one third. She wrote letters to international leaders, conducted subscription campaigns, consulted psychics, purchased sailing ships, and seconded officers from the Royal Navy. By stirring up public opinion and lobbying influential friends, she exerted relentless pressure on the British Admiralty and the Hudson's Bay Company to keep searching.

After 1854, Jane Franklin fought tooth and nail to repudiate John Rae's revelations that some members of the expedition had been driven to cannibalism. She acquired the support of Charles Dickens, who shamed himself with a racist denunciation of the Inuit that has damaged his reputation forever. Meanwhile, Lady Franklin repeatedly redefined the notion of geographical discovery to suit the lost expedition, ultimately advancing the nonsensical idea that halfway through the Northwest Passage, by reaching the Arctic coast of the continent, the starving sailors "forged the last link with their lives."

Even today, educated people who should know better deny geography and abandon logic to follow her in arguing that the Franklin expedition somehow discovered the Northwest Passage. Never mind. The search for the lost ships did accomplish the mapping of the Canadian Arctic. And Lady Franklin herself has earned a place in history as an early marketing genius. By erecting statues and memorials of her husband hither and yon, from Lincolnshire and Westminster Abbey in England to Hobart, Tasmania, she turned her hapless husband into an Arctic hero.

And so we arrive at final questions. From the note found at Victory Point on King William Island, we know that in April 1848 105 men departed the two ice-locked ships. The note tells us that already nine officers and fifteen seamen had died. That represents thirty-seven per cent of officers but just fourteen per cent of crewmen, and the discrepancy is even greater if we subtract the three dead men buried on Beechey Island.

Why so many officers? Why such disproportion? Researchers have spent vast amounts of time and energy inquiring into the deaths of the first three sailors to die, even to the point of exhuming and analyzing their remains. Did lead poisoning kill these men? Botulism? Zinc deficiency and tuberculosis? But here's another question: What if those three early deaths were anomalies that contribute nothing to solving the larger mystery?

Perhaps those later twenty-one deaths resulted from some unrelated accident. A few scholars have wondered if those men ingested something the others did not. But none has connected the tragic fate of Franklin with the catastrophe that befell Dano-Norwegian explorer Jens Munk. In 1619–20, while seeking the Northwest Passage, Munk led two ships filled with sailors in wintering at present-day Churchill, Manitoba. There his expedition lost a staggering sixty-two men out of sixty-five.

NATIONAL MARITIME MUSEUM, GREENWICH, LONDON, BHC1273

While researching my book *Dead Reckoning: The Untold Story of the Northwest Passage*, I read Munk's journal in translation and then turned up an article by Delbert Young that was published more than four decades ago in *The Beaver* magazine, now *Canada's History*. In "Killer on the 'Unicorn,'" Winter 1973, Young blamed the catastrophe on poorly cooked or raw polar-bear meat — a threat not then well understood.

Soon after reaching Churchill in September 1619, Munk reported that at every high tide white beluga whales entered the estuary of the river. His men caught one of them and dragged it ashore. The next day, a "large white bear" turned up to feed on the whale. Munk shot and killed it. His men relished the bear meat. Munk had ordered the cook "just to boil it slightly, and then to keep it in vinegar for a night." But he had the meat for his own table roasted and wrote that "it was of good taste and did not disagree with us."

As Delbert Young observes, Churchill sits at the heart of polar bear country. After that first feasting the sailors probably consumed more polar bear meat. During his long

HOW INDIGENOUS PEOPLES KEPT FRANKLIN ALIVE

Without certain decisive interventions of Indigenous peoples we would not now be commemorating any expedition bearing the name of Sir John Franklin, because he would have been dead long before departure.

The first occasion occurred in 1821, when Yellowknives Dene led by Akaitcho saved Franklin from starving to death. On July 18 of that year, the thirty-five-year-old lieutenant established a campsite overlooking Coronation Gulf at the mouth of the Coppermine River in what's now Nunavut.

Keskarrah a Copper Indian guide and his daughter Green Stockings mending a snow shoe is an illustration from the 1823 *Narrative of a Journey to the Shores of the Polar Sea*, by John Franklin.

A few kilometres upriver, he had taken unhappy leave of the Yellowknives, who had warned him against continuing his journey that late in the year. Akaitcho had told Franklin that if he ventured east along the Arctic coast he would run out of food and would never return alive. Impervious to Indigenous advice, the Royal Navy man proceeded to the coast. From there, unprepared and short of food, he led nineteen men eastward.

As predicted, he encountered neither animals nor Inuit hunters; and, when Franklin finally did turn back, the expedition devolved into a death march marked by starvation, murder, and cannibalism. Eleven men died, and Franklin survived thanks only to a rescue party sent by Akaitcho.

Back in England, after publishing a narrative drawing heavily on the work of subordinates, Franklin was celebrated as "the man who ate his boots." And by 1826 he was back in the Arctic again, charged with mapping more coastline. This time, the Indigenous intervener was an Inuit guide named Tattannoeuck who rescued the Royal Navy man from disaster and almost certain death.

On July 7, having reached the mouth of the Mackenzie River with two boats and fifteen men, Franklin felt moved to visit "a crowd of Esquimaux tents" on an island four kilometres distant. Halfway there, shallow waters forced a halt; but Franklin beckoned the Inuit to approach. Soon the boats were surrounded by two hundred and fifty Siglit Inuit in seventy-eight canoes. Having invited two chiefs into his boat, Franklin found himself forcibly held in place while forty men produced knives and began ransacking the boats. Tattannoeuck jumped into the water, Franklin wrote later, "and rushing among the men on the shore, endeavored to stop their proceedings, till he was quite hoarse with speaking." Franklin's second-in-command, George Back, scared off most of the would-be thieves by firing into the air. Tattannoeuck then "intrepidly went" ashore and told the Inuit that the white men had come only to help, and that he himself, well-clothed and comfortable, was proof "of the advantages to be derived from an intercourse with the whites."

Tattannoeuck continued in this vein while surrounded by more than three dozen men, "and all of them with knives, and he quite unarmed. A greater instance of courage has not been I think recorded," wrote Franklin. Tattannoeuck remained onshore, talking and then singing with the strangers until at midnight the tide began to rise, and Franklin and his men set off rowing westward. If not for Tattannoeuck, these events at "Pillage Point" would certainly have ended differently.

Thanks to Akaitcho and Tattannoeuck, a Yellowknives Dene and an Inuk, John Franklin lived to see 1845. But then, by later vanishing into the Arctic, he engendered a search that engaged British, American, and even French adventurers, some of whom lost their own lives. – *Ken McGoogan*

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Above: *Man Proposes, God Disposes,* by Edwin Lanseer, circa 1864. The chilling painting depicts polar bears ravaging the remnants of the Franklin expedition.

Right: Tombstones of Franklin expedition crewmen stand above the stark, flat landscape at Beechey Island, Nunavut, in 2006. Sir John Franklin and his crew wintered there between 1845 and 1846.

career, Munk had seen men die of scurvy, and he knew how to treat that disease. He noted that it attacked some of his sailors, loosening their teeth and bruising their skin. But when men began to die in great numbers, he was baffled. Their illness went far beyond anything he had seen. His chief cook died early in January, and from then on "violent sickness ... prevailed more and more."

After a wide-ranging analysis, Young identified trichinosis as the probable killer — a parasitical disease that is endemic in polar bears. Infected meat, undercooked, deposits embryonic larvae in a person's stomach. These tiny parasites embed themselves in the intestines. They reproduce, enter the bloodstream, and, within weeks, encyst themselves in muscle tissue throughout the body. They cause the terrible symptoms Munk describes and, left untreated, can culminate in death four to six weeks after ingestion.

So, back to the Franklin expedition. Could trichinosis, induced by eating raw polar bear meat, have killed those nine officers and twelve seamen? And could it have galvanized the remaining men into abandoning the ships? Could it have rendered many of them so sick that they could hardly walk straight and have made the faces of some look black, so that they had to be quarantined in a separate tent? All of this accords with Inuit testimony.

In recent years, while visiting Beechey Island with Adventure Canada, I and my fellow voyagers have been driven off by polar bears. Rather than fire guns into the air, we retreat into the Zodiacs at the first sign of the bears' approach. Faced with that same situation, Franklin's men would have responded differently. They would have shot those bears and eaten them.

It's true that, by the mid-nineteenth century, some sailors might have heard that polar bear meat could be dangerous. But can anyone doubt that the men of the Franklin expedition, subsisting on short rations and desperate for a change of diet, would have eaten it anyway? Like Munk's men, they would not have seen terrible and baffling symptoms arise until later.

In my view, undercooked polar bear meat, unevenly distributed among officers and crew, led not only to those lopsided fatality statistics but to the flight from the ships and, ultimately, the destruction of the expedition.

Within the next two or three years, those underwater archaeologists from Parks Canada will almost certainly turn up decisive evidence — written records, or human remains, or both — as they investigate the *Erebus* and the *Terror*. Do not be surprised if they determine that the sailors ate uncooked polar bear meat and fell victim to trichinosis.

TOP: BRIDGEMAN IMAGES. BOTTOM: ALAMY D3TR6B

SOMETHING TO SQUAWK ABOUT

Louis the parrot fought the forces of progress in British Columbia's capital – and won.

by Susan Goldenberg

HE WAS A BRANDY-SWILLING, FOUL-MOUTHED birdbrain who managed to thwart the dreams of real estate developers in British Columbia for years. The story of Louis the parrot's seventeen-year legal standoff with developers in Victoria may seem the stuff of legend — and yet, it's true.

From 1949 to 1966, the ornery bird was the bane of builders who wished to tear down the mansion where the macaw lived — a prime downtown location — and replace it with high-rise apartments. In this unusual battle between progress and tradition, Louis, representing tradition, was the victor and became something of a folk hero to the city's heritage preservationists.

"Louis roosts in and is the de facto landlord of one of the most sought-after parcels of downtown real estate in scenic British Columbia," *Life* magazine reported in "The Old Bird Won't Sell," a story that appeared in its August 1963 issue. "In the eyes of certain businessmen … Louis is a bone in the throat of civic progress."

If Louis's tale was made into a movie, the opening scene would be set in 1949, with the death of his owner, Victoria Jane Wilson — a rich, unmarried, and childless recluse who had no siblings and few friends when she died at seventy-two. Louis, a gorgeous blue-and-yellow South American macaw, had been the love of her life ever since she received him as a gift from her parents on her fifth birthday. Her will stipulated that Louis must live out his days in her mansion and that under no circumstances must his environment be disturbed. This meant that the house had to remain standing until the bird dropped dead — and parrots are blessed with very long lives.

It was an irresistible story that gained international attention — as much for the absurdity of the situation as for the back story of how Wilson came to bequeath a mansion to her feathered friend. An only child, Wilson was kept apart from other youngsters by her overly protective and overbearing father, real estate tycoon (James) Keith Wilson. According to a 2012 *Victoria Times Colonist* "Tales from the Vault" article by Stephen Ruttan, "On the few occasions when Victoria Jane did leave the house, her father would follow her. He would be hovering in the background, occasionally dodging behind poles if she happened to talk to someone. No wonder she grew up to be painfully shy."

Wilson lived her entire life in a three-storey gabled-roof mansion her father had built on a large piece of land on Burdett Avenue, close to the downtown area and the city's inner harbour. Nicknamed "The White House" by local citizens due to its hue, the mansion was surrounded by a high white fence.

Within this gilded cage — filled with antique furniture, large crystal chandeliers, heavy gilt mirrors, Dresden china, ornate pillars, hand-carved staircases, and elaborately sculptured ceilings — young Victoria Jane Wilson spent her days yearning for companionship.

IMAGE COURTESY OF VICTORIA TIMES COLONIST

Louis the parrot in 1957.

Visitors were rare — mostly Keith's business associates — and Victoria Jane's mother, Mary Kennethina, nicknamed "Kitty," was estranged from the rest of her family. So Victoria Jane never spent any time with her cousins, and she rarely socialized with other children. Mother and daughter often didn't leave the house for long periods of time, giving rise to local speculation that Keith wouldn't allow them out. Thus isolated, the young girl cherished Louis's companionship.

Blue-and-yellow macaws are among the largest of the parrot species; they can weigh between 900 and 1,800 grams and have a wingspan of up to 1.5 metres. They are often very intelligent, talkative, good mimics, playful, and entertaining, which is why macaws have been kept as pets for centuries.

Macaws also have relatively long lifespans. In the wild, they may live only thirty to thirty-five years, but in captivity at zoos, or as pets, they can live for many decades, with some reaching the age of one hundred or more. It is not uncommon for them to outlive their owners, as Louis did. (They are also not cheap to purchase: Today, a blue-and-yellow macaw can cost as much as $1,200.)

As the years passed, Victoria Jane Wilson's passion for parrots intensified. The *Victoria Times Colonist* reported that, as a young woman, Wilson owned twenty-six budgies, six lovebirds (small, mostly green parrots with a variety of bright colours on their upper body and weighing about fifty grams), at least four Panamanian parrots (green body with a yellow head or yellow front), and a Mexican yellow-headed parrot (a short-tailed green bird with a yellow head). Eventually her collection occupied the mansion's entire top floor. It must have been quite noisy with all the birds chattering away.

This portrait of Victoria Jane Wilson hangs at the Chateau Victoria Hotel & Suites in the B.C. capital.

Louis, though, remained her favourite — and, as such, he was given special treatment. Typically, parrots dine on seeds, nuts, and fruit and drink only water. But Louis received unconventional extras such as hard-boiled eggs — and brandy! Indeed, Louis's taste for alcohol became something of a local legend, with some newspapers labelling him a "lush." (Other reports claimed that his annual brandy consumption was only a modest two bottles, doled out daily in small dollops.)

Louis reportedly had an extensive vocabulary of swear words that would make most humans blush. But where did he pick it up? After all, Wilson was described as both refined and genteel. "I've heard some of the things that bloomin' bird says now and again," an elderly Victoria tradesman told *Life* magazine in 1963, "and what I can say is you can bet your ruddy home he never learned it from Miss Wilson. She was a proper and kindly lady."

In 1917, when Wilson was forty, her mother Kitty died. For many years, Wilson's life revolved around her domineering, aging father, with the two of them living in their mansion secluded from society. For respite she visited her birds upstairs twice daily.

It was only after her father's death in 1934 that Wilson began to venture out in public. She hosted small, intimate dinner parties at the city's venerable Empress Hotel, which were patronized by high society, and went on occasional shopping expeditions, wearing a long sable coat in cold weather. Otherwise, her life was very quiet; she never had company and spent most of her time at the White House with her birds and her cat, Fagan.

"She continued to fill her closets with tasteful and expensive clothes, but she rarely wore them," Laura Langston wrote in "Fame came after parrot lady died," a 1988 *Victoria Times Colonist* article. "Infrequently, she attended an afternoon tea. She was a quiet, soft-spoken woman, always properly dressed and usually seen standing off to the side or in a corner." By this time, Wilson was in her late fifties and was thinking increasingly about her beloved Louis's future — and the possibility he would outlive her.

When Wilson died in 1949, she left a house full of antiques, closets filled with clothing and hats, drawers of gloves, and an estate of nearly half a million dollars (equivalent to $5.5 million today). Much of it — $340,000 — went to charities, including the Red Cross, the Royal Jubilee and Queen Alexandra hospitals, and the BC Protestant Orphanage. Self-effacingly, the money was donated in her father's name, not hers.

She left her second-tier birds with ample provisions for their maintenance but far less than for her treasured Louis. Dear old Louis was numero uno. She earmarked $60,000 ($665,365 today) for his care. The will even provided Louis with his own human servant — Wilson's gardener, Yue Wah Wong, who was kept on staff and paid $250 a month, a goodly sum

IMAGE COURTESY OF THE CHATEAU VICTORIA HOTEL & SUITES

Left: Victoria Jane Wilson's mansion is shown in a 1965 aerial photograph. Right: Caretaker Yue Wah Wong plays with Louis the parrot circa 1957.

equivalent to $2,700 today, to look after the bird. Louis reportedly pined for his deceased mistress and could be heard calling "Miss Wilson, Miss Wilson, I want some water."

As Victoria Jane Wilson had lived in seclusion in her mansion, the rest of downtown Victoria slowly built up around her. Gradually, many of the fine old homes of similar vintage to hers were torn down to make way for high-rises.

After her death, her mansion and spacious grounds were sold to Douglas Abrams, an apartment developer, who announced his intention to demolish the house and develop the property into a modern, multiple-unit, high-rise apartment complex. But he had overlooked Louis. Tucked away in Victoria's will was an escrow clause stipulating that Louis must live out his days in the home — and that under no circumstances must his environment be disturbed. This meant that the White House, including its then-attached aviary, heated from the same furnace system as the house, had to remain standing until Louis dropped dead.

At the time of Wilson's death, the parrot was believed to be eighty-six. Calculating the actuarial odds, Abrams figured Louis's days were numbered.

"He subdivided the existing house into six apartments and sat down to wait out the old bird," *Life* magazine reported in 1963. "But Louis callously recovered from the pain of his mistress's passing and, to Abrams's rueful astonishment, seemed to take a new lease on life."

Unfortunately for Abrams, Louis was one of the *rarae aves* (rare birds) with a longer-than-average lifespan.

Like the reclusive Hollywood star Greta Garbo, Louis wanted to be left alone by the public. He apparently disliked having his picture taken — flashbulbs put him in a foul mood. Thankfully, he had very few visitors. Each year, a representative of the Royal Jubilee Hospital looked in to see if Louis was still ticking. From time to time, a member of the law firm administering Wilson's estate dropped by for the same purpose.

Abrams waited nine years for the parrot to croak before giving up in 1958. He sold the property to two Victoria businessmen who also claimed that they were willing to wait out Louis.

As the years rolled by, Louis outlived all of Wilson's other birds. Meanwhile, the media continued to flock to the story. A spate of tongue-in-cheek newspaper articles were published, including the 1959 *Calgary Herald* story

Venerable Louis

City Parrot Wins U.S. Fame

Louis, Victoria's venerable parrot living in the lap of luxury, has won fame to match his fortune. He's featured in Life magazine.

The centenarian macaw, whose owner, the late Victoria Wilson, made it possible for him to live out his life at the family mansion on Courtney Street

A parrot owns the best property in town

THE OLD BIRD WON'T SELL

Louis the parrot made headlines both in Canada and in the United States, including these 1963 stories from the *Victoria Times Colonist*, left, and *Life* magazine, above.

IMAGES COURTESY OF VICTORIA TIMES COLONIST

"Hard-Drinking Parrot Stymies Progress" and a *Vancouver Sun* opus published in 1961, "100 Year Old Parrot Still Soaks Up Brandy in Victoria." The latter tale described a visitor's effort to ascertain, by peeking through the mansion's windows, whether the bird was still breathing.

Louis's lifespan was a matter of supreme importance to a pair of local organizations. Wilson's will decreed that, upon Louis's death, the residue of his inheritance was to go to the Royal Jubilee Hospital and the Red Cross. The will also disqualified any beneficiary who contested it — something that greatly displeased A.C. Wurtele, the Royal Jubilee's board chairman.

"It seems to me that people are more important than parrots and Louis might well be turned over to the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals," Wurtele said in a December 1966 interview. "This money is being wasted. The estate is being eroded by legal fees, and I am afraid there will be nothing left."

In 1963, *Life* magazine writer Russell Sackett travelled to Victoria to check in on the bird's well-being. He had first written about Louis in the late 1950s. In his 1963 follow-up, he recalled that earlier eventful encounter: "I first met Louis in 1957; I wanted to see the noted squatter. I was reassured by a view of Louis, brilliant blue and yellow, looking splendidly indestructible even through a dusty, heavily screened window of his private house, where he was doing a headstand on his perch." Sackett had returned to Victoria in 1963 to investigate the bird's welfare. Checking in at the Empress Hotel, the reporter met a long-time Victoria resident who wondered whether Louis actually was dead and had been replaced by a doppelgänger.

Sackett eventually spoke by telephone to Wong, the bird's caretaker, who invited the reporter to come to the mansion, look through the window, and see for himself.

Sackett described what happened next: "Feeling unsure and jittery as I squeaked through the gate, [I] walked to the window, shaded my eyes and tentatively called, 'Louis?' There was a shadowy movement far back in the birdhouse, and suddenly there was Louis, jaunty and resplendent as ever, sidestepping deliberately along his perch toward the window. 'Wong?' he rasped, eyeing me accusingly."

Louis lived at the mansion for another three years. But his lengthy occupancy was nearing its end. In 1966, the law firm that managed Victoria Jane Wilson's estate decided that it was too costly to keep him in the large house, which had fallen into decay. After some discussion, lifelong arrangements were made for Louis to be cared for by Wong and his family at their premises, a modest abode. With the macaw at long last having flown the coop, builders were free to develop the estate.

In 1969, *Canadian Magazine* published "The Bird Who Has It Made," which described how Louis continued to live a privileged, pampered life. Wong died soon after taking the bird in, but his family continued to care for the parrot in the grand manner to which he was accustomed. The exact date of Louis's death is unknown; some say that he died a few years after Wong, but others claim that he held on until 1985, when he would have been about 115 years old.

Caretaker Yue Wah Wong stands next to Louis the parrot's 1911 Hupp-Yeats electric automobile, date unknown.

GLIDE AND RIDE

Louis the parrot is likely the first bird to ever "own" an electric car. Victoria Jane Wilson asked her father, Keith Wilson, to buy her the vehicle, a luxury Hupp-Yeats electric automobile, so that she could take her pet parrot for short drives.

The Hupp-Yeats was produced in Detroit from 1911 to 1916 and employed a then new technology, the Exide Hycap battery, for propulsion. The vehicle featured a glass roof, lamps on each side of the upper hood, and a holder for flowers behind the driver's seat.

Unfortunately, Louis reportedly didn't like the car's noise, and the auto was put into storage after just a few outings. Following Victoria Jane Wilson's death, the vehicle was purchased in 1959 by Stan Reynolds, an Alberta vehicle collector.

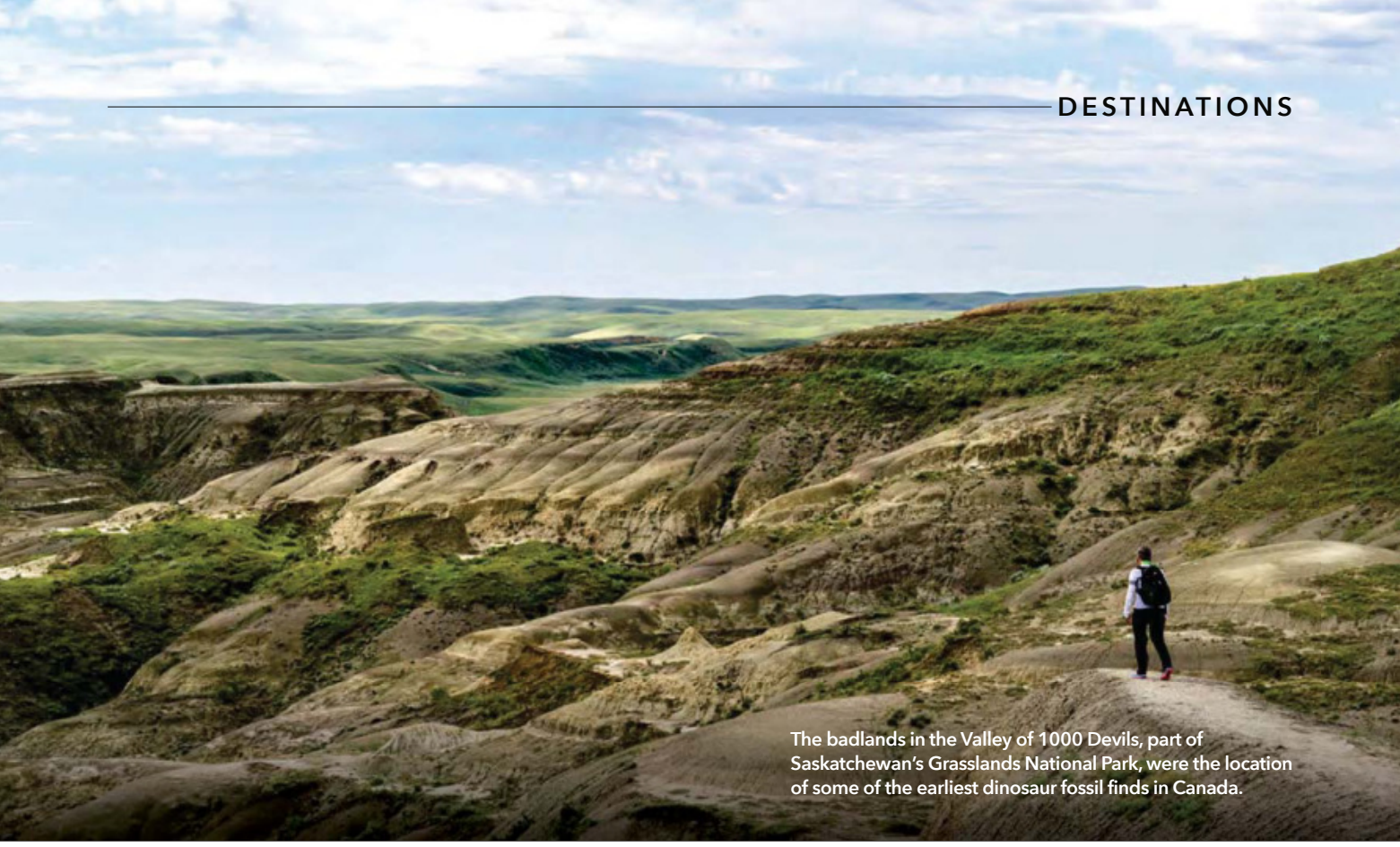
The Hupp-Yeats is today displayed in the Reynolds-Alberta Museum in Wetaskiwin, Alberta. The museum traces the mechanization of transportation, aviation, agriculture, and industry from the 1890s to the present. Museum curator Justin Cuffe said the car was found in a garage behind a sealed wall in Wilson's mansion. He noted that Reynolds had to take great care "to delicately remove it without bothering Miss Wilson's pet parrot Louis, who had his aviary set up in front of the garage." When the car was finally extracted, it had less than 160 kilometres on the odometer.

– Susan Goldenberg

While the bird is gone, his legend lives on. In 1975, the Chateau Victoria Hotel & Suites was built near the former White House site, complete with a top-floor restaurant named the Parrot House after you-know-who.

And today, Victoria's Hallmark Heritage Society's highest prize for heritage preservation is called, you guessed it, the Louis Award, in honour of the parrot who for years fought the forces of progress — and won.

IMAGE COURTESY OF REYNOLDS-ALBERTA MUSEUM



The badlands in the Valley of 1000 Devils, part of Saskatchewan's Grasslands National Park, were the location of some of the earliest dinosaur fossil finds in Canada.

Nature's endless splendour

Amid the stunning beauty of Saskatchewan's Grasslands National Park, thousands of years of human history are just a recent blip. *by Nancy Payne*

We thought we knew peace and quiet — after all, the four children in my family grew up roaming unsupervised on our eighty-hectare farm in central Ontario. Two sisters now live in British Columbia, while my brother and I have settled not far from the home farm. Our trip to southwestern Saskatchewan was the first time we'd travelled together, and we opted to meet in the middle of the country to celebrate the youngest of us entering her fifties.

As kids we picked wildflowers and built little fires for roasting wieners, while in winter we hiked up and screamed down our own private toboggan hill at the back of the farm. But this — this is new. An easy four-kilometre hike has taken us to a place where the view of waving grasses and valleys carved by glacial melt extends dozens of kilometres to meet the endless blue sky and its fluffy clouds. The sign at the trailhead had urged us simply to enjoy the experience of the walk itself, rather than powering along to get to the end.

So we amble along, noting unfamiliar flowers and rocks, and even cacti. The quiet is almost complete; there's just wind and birdsong. The peace sinks into your bones.

Grasslands National Park makes you realize how very small you are, and how very vast and almost completely unchanged this ancient landscape is. Sure, we've passed tidy working ranches as well as a few other visitors and Parks Canada vehicles on the gravel Ecotour route through the park's west block. We notice a stone foundation and a portion of collapsed roof, which are all that's left of one settler family's ambitions. We pull out at several of the suggested stops, admiring a lone bison from a distance and a zillion hilarious prairie dogs from much closer.

We stop for longer at the site legendary rancher Walt Larson once called home. We try tossing a lasso over a sawhorse with fake horns attached, and we discover, unsurprisingly, that our Ontario farm experience slinging hay and herding cattle does not mean we're skilled with a rope. A short trail leads to the site of a barn Larson dug into the land that rises away from the Frenchman River; the shelter reminds me of the make-do ingenuity of every farmer I've ever known.

A little farther along the drive back to our accommodation in the village of Val Marie, we pull over again. Just a few kilometres from the Larson homestead, this site's human story dates back thousands more years. And, like so much of what we've seen today, the discoveries are especially meaningful precisely because they're so easy to miss. (As one of my B.C. sisters muses, where she lives the mountainous scenery looms skyward; here in southwestern Saskatchewan the breathtaking river valleys and badlands stretch *down*, so that if you're not paying attention you won't see them at all.)

VALERIE PAYNE

Top: A black-tailed prairie dog peers from a burrow in the west block of Grasslands National Park near Val Marie, Saskatchewan. Above left: An important site of Indigenous heritage, the park is home to more than twelve thousand tipi rings – circles of partially buried stones. Above right: A weathered building in the park's west block is one of the few signs of attempts at farming in the area.

IF YOU GO

GETTING THERE: The west block of Grasslands National Park is a three-and-a-half-hour drive southwest from Regina, or an hour and a half south from Swift Current, Saskatchewan.

WHEN TO VISIT: The park's visitor centres are typically open from May 1 through the Thanksgiving Day long weekend. (But check for possible closures due to COVID-19.)

WHERE TO STAY: Services in the area are limited, so plan ahead. The village of Val Marie, Saskatchewan, just northwest of the park's west block and home to the main park office, offers a handful of accommodation options along with a grocery store and a good Chinese-Canadian restaurant. Camping options within the park include sites with electricity, oTENTik cabins, and backcountry tenting.

We scare some deer out of a coulee as we meander across the grassy plateau. Down around my feet I finally see what I've been searching for: partially buried stones curving into a circle, one of the park's more than twelve thousand tipi rings. Indeed, Grasslands is considered one of the most important sites of undisturbed pre-contact Indigenous heritage: First the Gros Ventre followed the bison here, and then the Assiniboine, Cree, Blackfoot, and Sioux. After the Battle of the Little Bighorn in 1876, Sitting Bull brought about four thousand Lakota here from what is now Montana. The area was also valuable to the Metis, who conducted their last-ever bison hunt near Val Marie in 1885.

The next day, we head to the park's east block, which is a good two-hour drive from Val Marie. I'm preoccupied by the fact that the park's website describes the alarmingly named Valley of 1000 Devils Route we're planning to hike as "very difficult." I mean, my sisters are from British Columbia, so they're used to strenuous climbs, and my brother has always been game for any challenge. I love a good hike, but I'm not what you'd call hardcore, and the website worries me a little: "This route is a remote wilderness experience that requires preparedness, self-reliance and orienteering skills."

By the time we enter the small park office to ask some questions, I've already realized that my siblings know enough — and are kind enough — that I needn't be concerned. I relax immediately when friendly Parks Canada staff members assure us that we'll be fine as long as we have water; the trail is beaten down, and it's easy to turn back when we've had enough. It turns out that a remote wilderness experience, like so much else in Grasslands, is not at all what we're used to.

A non-strenuous hike takes us up and over a series of ridges to (and this area sure does tax the thesaurus listings for "vast") a panoramic view of badlands in various shades of grey, black, rusty red, and white. The landscape stretches beyond human history into primordial upheaval.

I feel an actual shock of excitement when I see a set of black "stones" arranged in such a neat line that they just have to be the backbone of something ancient. My younger sister makes agreeable noises, although I sense good-natured skepticism from my two older siblings. Whatever. We're in the middle of a spectacularly rich fossil bed; the first recorded discovery of dinosaur remains in Canada took place right here in these badlands in 1874. I'm sticking to my story.

We say goodbye to Grasslands on a final driving tour of the Badlands Parkway, a rare paved stretch of road that makes it easy for everyone to enjoy gorgeous views while protecting habitat and archaeological sites. We know we've experienced something profound, and not just because of the precious time spent together. Ten thousand years of human presence here is just a faint scratch on the timeless surface of a place that has been home to bison hunters, dinosaurs, and glaciers. In both time and space, it feels about as close as we'll get in this lifetime to touching infinity.

TOP: ISTOCK. LOWER LEFT AND RIGHT: VALERIE PAYNE

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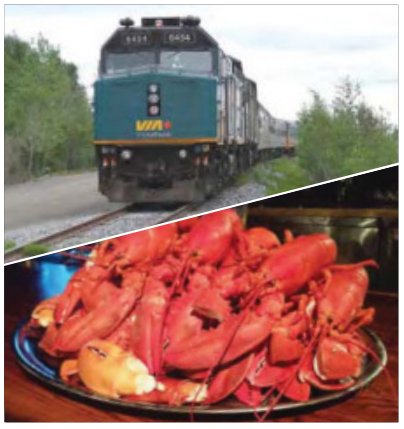

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CANADA'S HISTORY

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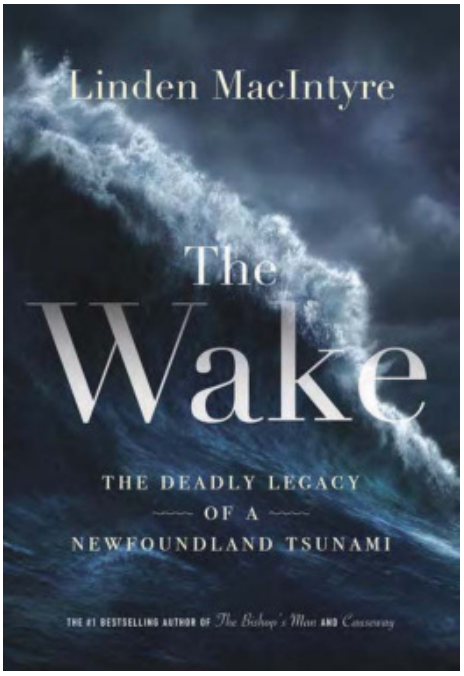
More details on the above and our popular fall trip to Northern Ontario at CanadasHistory.ca/travel. To book your space or more details call RAIL TRAVEL TOURS toll free at 1-866-704-3528



COASTAL CALAMITIES

The Wake: The Deadly Legacy of a Newfoundland Tsunami
by Linden MacIntyre
HarperCollins Canada,
399 pages, $32.99

Fisherman Patrick Rennie and two of his sons were on high ground when three giant waves battered their Newfoundland outport home. The third carried it into Lord's Cove. Rennie's four-year-old daughter was plucked from the half-submerged building, but his wife and three other children were dead.

They were among twenty-seven people who died in November 1929 when a 7.2-magnitude undersea earthquake unleashed towering tsunamis on the isolated Burin Peninsula, shattering houses and fishing gear and wiping out livelihoods. Linden MacIntyre shows that this was only the first of two disasters to befall the hardscrabble region. The other involved something human-made — mines established in the community of St. Lawrence to extract the mineral fluorspar, which offered jobs and hope to unemployed fishermen. Radiation and dust slowly killed hundreds of the miners. "It started with an earthquake," he writes of this twin disaster. "It ended with a plague."

MacIntyre, a familiar face and voice thanks to a career as a CBC investigative journalist, won the Scotiabank Giller Prize for his novel *The Bishop's Man*. He returns to his non-fiction roots in *The Wake*, which combines a riveting story of loss and survival with a searing indictment of the development-at-any-cost mentality that has ruined lives and the environment in so many remote communities. It's "a story that has relevance today," he reminds us, "for vulnerable workers in many places, in Asia and Africa and Latin America."

Newfoundland was destitute in the 1930s. Markets for cod collapsed during the Great Depression, catches were poor — likely due in part to the tsunami's lingering impact — and the bankrupt government was dissolved, subjecting a self-governing dominion to the humiliation of colonial-style direct rule from Britain. Enter Walter Seibert, a twenty-something opportunist from New York who acquired mineral rights in St. Lawrence for a pittance and exuded the confidence and smarm, MacIntyre notes, of the "shyster" he most certainly was. With no pesky government inspectors looking over his shoulder — and no workplace-safety laws to rein him in if there had been — Seibert's mines became death traps. The men of St. Lawrence made a Faustian bargain to risk a premature death as the price of earning a living.

The tsunami did its deadly work in minutes. The second disaster took years to play out, as men working in the poorly ventilated mines slowly succumbed to cancer and lung disease. Warnings were ignored. Protests and complaints were brushed aside. By the time investigations confirmed the link between working conditions and miners' deaths, there was no one left to hold accountable for the carnage. Among the dead was Patrick Rennie, whose family was decimated by the tsunami; he joined his neighbours in the mines and died in 1951 at age sixty.

For MacIntyre, this is a personal story. He grew up in Cape Breton, Nova Scotia — his soothing accent assures visitors to the island that "Your heart will never leave" in tourism advertisements on television — but he was born on the Burin Peninsula six years before Newfoundland joined Confederation in 1949. His father, Dan, was working in the St. Lawrence pits at the time and was only fifty when he died.

In short sections titled "Conversations with the Dead," MacIntyre offers his best recollection of long-ago conversations with his father. To his regret, these discussions rarely delved into the specifics of the risks of working in St. Lawrence, but they allow him to explore unanswered questions about what happened and why. Each section appears in italics, clearly demarcating these meditations from the scrupulously researched historical narrative.

MacIntyre's storytelling is as powerful and relentless as the wall of water that left so much devastation in its wake. This heartfelt account is a sobering reminder of nature's fury and of the human cost of greed and corporate indifference.

Reviewed by **Dean Jobb**, whose collection of Nova Scotia true-crime stories, *Daring, Devious & Deadly* (Pottersfield Press), will be published this fall. He teaches non-fiction writing at the University of King's College in Halifax.

WEST COAST IDYLL

Dreamers and Designers: The Shaping of West Vancouver

by Francis Mansbridge
Harbour Publishing, 255 pages, $29.95

Mudflat Dreaming: Waterfront Battles and the Squatters Who Fought Them in 1970s Vancouver

by Jean Walton
New Star Books, 204 pages, $24

Two recently published books portray very different visions of life and living in the Vancouver area — from glass-walled homes on rocky outcroppings overlooking the sea to makeshift shacks along muddy shores and unrepaired houses in a riverbank area. They also show that battles over land and "property" have taken many forms in the course of the region's history and development.

Francis Mansbridge's *Dreamers and Designers: The Shaping of West Vancouver* includes a well-considered chapter about the Squamish people who have lived on the land across the Burrard Inlet from what is now Stanley Park since long before European settlers, vacationers, and property developers arrived. Yet, as the title suggests, the book is dedicated to and primarily inspired by the latter — who have largely achieved their dreams of realizing West Vancouver as "a place where its residents now enjoy an unusual quality of life" in a setting "characterized by magnificent (and expensive) homes and an absence of industry."

Mansbridge has written other books about the area's history and notes that British cultural traditions — in particular the garden city movement begun by Ebenezer Howard at the turn of the twentieth century — "laid West Vancouver's foundations." Already with early developer Francis Caufield, a former manager of Lloyd's Bank of London, England, the benefits of a varied landscape and the importance of unique dwellings were emphasized.

Besides its scenic location, the area is known for often-spectacular modernist houses designed by architects Ron Thom, Fred Hollingsworth, Barry Downs, Arthur Erickson, and Geoffrey Massey, among others. *Dreamers and Designers* includes a chapter about these creations as well as a number of full-colour photographs that show how some homes were built to perch upon challenging terrain. Dozens of contemporary photographs by John Moir are accompanied by historic illustrations, maps, plans, and photographs.

If Mansbridge's book is an admiring recounting of the building of a largely wealthy residential city on unceded land, Jean Walton's *Mudflat Dreaming* is an engaging and contemplative retelling of life in two precarious communities along the Vancouver region's waterways. Walton is a professor of English and film studies in Rhode Island, and her book draws from documentary films that portray the struggles faced by residents of Bridgeview, a working-class neighbourhood between the Fraser River and the King George Highway in the Vancouver suburb of Surrey, and by inhabitants of the Maplewood Mudflats, a shifting intertidal space between municipal land and federally regulated waterways on the North Shore of the Burrard Inlet east of the Second Narrows Bridge.

In the early 1970s, the period about which the documentaries tell, Walton lived as a teenager not far from Bridgeview. Along with films, *Mudflat Dreaming* is based on newspaper accounts, minutes of council meetings, recent interviews and conversations, and even her own diaries.

Walton's empathy for Bridgeview residents and their attempts to improve their lives and homes in the face of an intransigent mayor and council — who were more interested in removing homeowners to allow new development — is as evident as the affinities she discovers between two seemingly very different communities. She writes that, "while the residents in Bridgeview longed for the amenities" enjoyed by homeowners in nearby neighbourhoods, "the hippies on the Maplewood Mudflats seemed to spurn the trappings of suburban life."

The NFB's film about Bridgeview is entitled *Some People Have to Suffer* and was named after words spoken by a Surrey alderman. In looking back to 1970s Vancouver, Walton discovered not only "a long history of squatters along the city's waterways" but also two documentaries about the ragtag assemblage of shacks and floating homes in the mud flats.

One film opens with idyllic scenes of waterfront living that are interrupted when the North Vancouver District mayor insists, "this cannot continue." The mud flats hosted artists, long-time residents, various "counter-cultural types," and others seeking an escape from the struggles of modern living — such as neurophysiologist Paul Spong, who had studied whales at the Vancouver Aquarium but whose position ended after he determined that they "had become depressed in captivity" and suggested that they be set free.

Mudflat Dreaming also tells about Robert Altman's experimental 1971 feature film *McCabe & Mrs. Miller*, whose frontier-style sets were partly built by craftspeople from the mud flats and which was filmed nearby. Most of the book's black-and-white images are stills from the various films.

Walton writes of a "fragile grace" that allows charmed ways of living to endure while a world in love with cement and uniformity threatens to foreclose upon both the dreams and their dreamers. "Well-formed concrete truly does bring a ramshackle city into the modern age," she writes wryly in regard to a promotional film touting the benefits of a machine for producing low-cost street curbs in formerly

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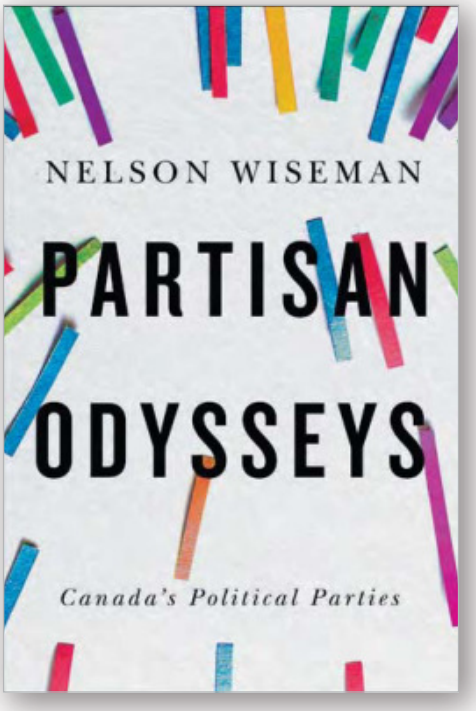

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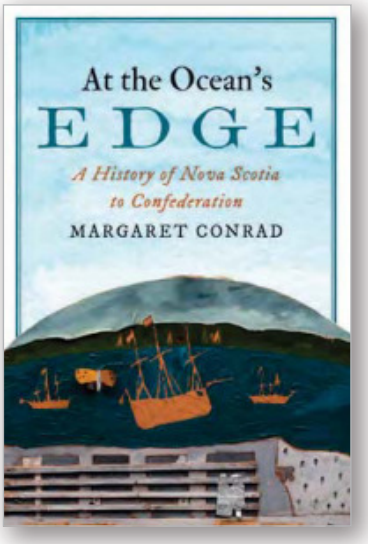

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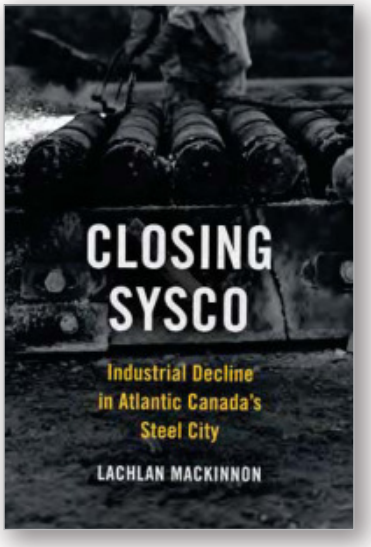

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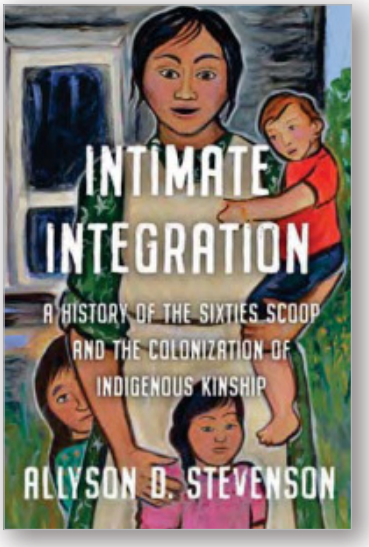

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down-at-heel Vancouver neighbourhoods. "But the mudflats films presented a life voluntarily lived on the mud as a direct refusal to have any truck with concrete of any kind."

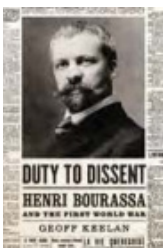
Can anyone truly realize their dreams for life and home? In different times and locations, and with very different senses of purpose and wonder, many people in the Vancouver area have achieved their own kinds of graceful living, while others have continued to struggle.

Reviewed by **Phil Koch**, the associate editor of *Canada's History* magazine.

FIGHTING WORDS

Duty to Dissent: Henri Bourassa and the First World War

by Geoff Keelan
UBC Press, 283 pages, $34.95



Journalist Henri Bourassa was the most hated man in Canada during the First World War — or, to clarify, the most despised public figure in English Canada. In French Canada, the editor of the relatively small French-language newspaper *Le Devoir* was a respected voice in warning against Canada's unfettered commitment during the war.

Historian Geoff Keelan has written an important book that explores the ideas and commentary of Bourassa during the war, situating his writing within his intellectual milieu of being a devoted Catholic and a Quebec *nationaliste*.

As a Member of Parliament, Bourassa had clashed with his party leader, Sir Wilfrid Laurier, over the decision to send an expeditionary force to South Africa late in 1899. He was even more strident in his demands that Canada not create a navy in 1910, for fear that it would drag Canada into imperial conflicts. Laurier had to walk a fine line as prime minister, yet Bourassa never stopped firing from the flanks. His relentless attacks contributed to Laurier losing the 1911 election, which, ironically, put a more devoted imperialist in power, Sir Robert Borden. It was Borden who took Canada into and through the First World War — although he, like many, emerged from the trial as a more committed Canadian nationalist.

While Bourassa offered tepid support of the war effort in 1914, he was soon using his newspaper to attack the government over its handling of the war. As a champion of French-language rights, he struck aggressively at Regulation 17 in Ontario that limited the teaching of French. He questioned why French Canadians should serve overseas when there was "Prussian tyranny" in Ontario attempting to destroy French culture through the denial of language.

Not unpredictably, commentary like that — and his unconventional argument to curtail Canada's support of Britain in the war — led to much outrage in English Canada, where he was labelled an "arch traitor" by one newspaper. Another threatened that the "Skull of Rebellion must be crushed."

Keelan offers new insight into Bourassa's dissenting view of the war, in which he was sometimes piercingly clear in highlighting the danger and consequences while at other times dogmatically out of touch with sentiment across Canada. Bourassa's way was not to encourage conversation but to offer condemnation. And yet the "magnetism of his words," writes Keelan, appealed to many, even as he enraged even more.

Duty to Dissent is a sympathetic reading of Bourassa's messages, and yet, in his narrow reading of Bourassa, Keelan does not provide much space for the sentiments that motivated large parts of English Canada during the First World War. They included, in part, strong links to Britain, the desire of many to free the oppressed Belgians, a sense of duty to fight as Canadians, and, perhaps most importantly, the weight of Canada's fallen soldiers, who made it harder and harder for the country to disengage from the war while thousands, and then tens of thousands, were blown apart or buried.

Like those of another once-reviled historical figure, Louis Riel, Bourassa's influence and actions have taken on new meaning with succeeding generations. For example, his warnings about war dividing Canadians are much better understood now than they were during the fervent period of nearly unlimited war.

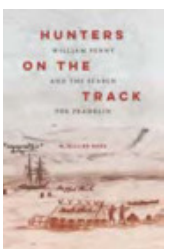
Bourassa, described rightly by Keelan as a "prominent Canadian intellectual," did not have much in common with the majority of English Canadians. However, all of them would have agreed with his sentiment upon hearing of the armistice on November 11, 1918: "Let us thank God for silencing the murderous voice of the cannons."

Reviewed by **Tim Cook**, the author of several books, including *The Secret History of Soldiers* (2018) and the forthcoming *The Fight for History* (2020)

WORKING KNOWLEDGE

Hunters on the Track: William Penny and the Search for Franklin

by W. Gillies Ross
McGill-Queen's University Press, 559 pages, $39.95



Sir John Franklin's search for the Northwest Passage is one of the most-celebrated episodes in Canadian history, and public interest has been renewed by the discovery of the wrecks of the *Erebus* in 2014 and the *Terror* in 2016. Franklin had vanished from European sight when Baffin Bay whalers watched his ships sail westward in July 1845. The quest to find him began in 1848, and over the following years dozens of search parties set forth to track down the missing expedition, until the tragic fate of its captain and crew was definitively revealed in 1859.

W. Gillies Ross's book *Hunters on the Track* tells the tale of one searching season. During 1850 and 1851,

the Arctic Archipelago hosted no fewer than ten ships belonging to five separate expeditions. They included a British Admiralty fleet commanded by Horatio Austin, an American expedition led by Edwin Jesse De Haven, a single ship under Arctic veteran Sir John Ross, and two expeditions initiated by Franklin's wife, Lady Jane: a private effort captained by Charles Codrington Forsythe and another entrusted to the Admiralty under the command of whaling captain William Penny.

While Penny is the narrative centre of the book, Ross toggles frequently between the many hunters on Franklin's track, who worked against each other as often as they worked in concert. The most significant discovery of the season occurred late in August 1850, when some of Penny's men came across the graves of three members of Franklin's crew on Beechey Island. This find led to the location of Franklin's wintering camps of 1845–46, the most significant clue yet in the quest for the missing ships.

The rest of the season, though, proved to be fruitless. Winter sledge expeditions yielded nothing of significance, and, after Penny had made a brief sally up the Wellington Channel, the search was curtailed in August 1851. On their return, Austin and Penny were roundly criticized for lack of perseverance, leading to an Admiralty inquiry and acrimony all around.

The documentary record of the search for Franklin feels as vast and varied as the Arctic Archipelago itself, and Ross skilfully weaves together the many logbooks, letters, official reports, private journals, and published narratives of the events of 1850–51.

The narrative mirrors the journey in other ways, too. Just as the searchers occasionally pursued false leads or became beset by ice, Ross leads his readers on repeated digressions, touching upon topics as diverse as the construction of Scotland's Caledonian Canal and the origins of baseball, which have tangential relevance to his story. Many of these tidbits are admittedly fascinating, such as the fact that modern Inuit drink more tea than the English and the invention in 1850 of message balloons that would drop slips of paper every five minutes during flight — a kind of prototype of Twitter.

The narrative is also enlivened by a number of vivid scenes and homely details, such as descriptions of hungry dogs awaiting the butchering of a narwhal and of sleeping mariners' nightcaps freezing to their ship's hull. Unfortunately, the few maps included in the book are so rudimentary as to be unusable, and so readers will need recourse to a good map of the Arctic Archipelago (or, more likely, Google Earth) in order to situate the several search parties and to understand the decisions their commanders made.

Writers on the search for Franklin have tended to exalt naval men and to overlook whalers, and in his prologue Ross characterizes Penny as "part of a large brotherhood of seafaring men" that has not been properly celebrated. In his disputes with Austin, Penny was always on his back foot; it is telling that the 1851 board of inquiry was made up of five naval officers and nary a civilian. Just as the discounting of Inuit testimony delayed the resolution of the Franklin mystery, so too did the denigration of whalers' knowledge and experience. In the end, Ross's volume is an act of rehabilitation for these working people.

Reviewed by **Bill Moreau,** a Toronto teacher and writer and the editor of the three-volume *Writings of David Thompson*.

MORE BOOKS

Along the E&N: A Journey Back to the Historic Hotels of Vancouver Island
by Glen A. Mofford
TouchWood Editions, 272 pages, $22

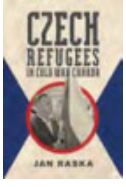
In his latest book, writer and historian Glen A. Mofford takes readers on a journey up the east side of British Columbia's Vancouver Island, where he follows the E&N (Esquimalt & Nanaimo) railway line that began operation in 1886 and was later purchased by the Canadian Pacific Railway.

Mofford describes more than thirty hotels and roadhouses in towns along the route, some of them still in operation, and allows us to discover not only the buildings themselves but also the fascinating owners and patrons who came and went before him. The journey starts at Esquimalt (now a suburb of Victoria) in the south and ends at Campbell River — 450 kilometres northwest along the proposed and surveyed but never fully completed route — and nearby Forbes Landing.

Along the E&N is filled with remarkable photos that transport readers back in time and bring Mofford's fascinating stories to life. There is also a timeline of Vancouver Island's history and brief biographies of some of the people featured in the book.

The author writes in his introduction, "You've bought your ticket, so sit back and relax as we visit the historic hotels along the E&N." Reading this book was like going on an exciting adventure filled with interesting places and characters.
— *Danielle Chartier*

Czech Refugees in Cold War Canada
by Jan Raska
University of Manitoba Press,
319 pages, $27.95



Tens of thousands of Czech refugees left their homeland and came to Canada during the Cold War. Once they got here, many of those same refugees organized and worked to put their fingers on the scales of politics in this country.

Author and historian Jan Raska's own family left Czechoslovakia in 1985 in search of what he says was "a better life and greater economic opportunities elsewhere." In his book *Czech Refugees in Cold War Canada*, he explains that many Czech immigrants who came to Canada between 1945 and 1989 brought with them

strong democratic and anti-communist values.

Along with those values came skills at political organization. Czech newcomers, Raska suggests, formed organizations "in which they could attempt to influence developments in their homeland and Canadian foreign policy towards Czechoslovakia."

The book tells how Czech refugees and the Canadian government often worked in lockstep, with Canadian authorities advancing the refugees' anti-communist agenda and the refugees supporting "Canada's Cold War agenda of preventing communist infiltration." Raska explains that "they lobbied their fellow citizens for political support in returning a parliamentary democracy to Czechoslovakia while strengthening democratic values in Canada." — *Dave Baxter*

Art and Rivalry: The Marriage of Mary and Christopher Pratt
by Carol Bishop-Gwyn
Alfred A. Knopf Canada, 280 pages, $34.95

Carol Bishop-Gwyn's book *Art and Rivalry* explores the work and marriage of two noted Canadian artists, Mary and Christopher Pratt. Bishop-Gwyn examines the Pratts' lives, from their childhoods, to their meeting as students in New Brunswick, to their lives together in Newfoundland and their lengthy but eventually fraught relationship.

In *Art and Rivalry*, anecdotes are interspersed within a semi-chronological narrative to tell about the complex relationship between spouses who were in some ways competitors. Yet it was a relationship that often proved beneficial to their work.

For instance, one evening after dinner, Mary began to sketch the table with its used dishes and unfinished food. Because the daylight was fading, Christopher took some photographs of the setting. His photos

HOT SPOTS The two above photographs appear in *Vancouver after Dark: The Wild History of a City's Nightlife*, by writer, historian, and musician Aaron Chapman (Arsenal Pulp Press, 247 pages, $32.95). The top image shows the interior of Vancouver's Balmoral Saloon in 1904, while the lower image shows Rudolph Boyce and his band performing at the city's Living Room club in 1966. Originally from Trinidad, Boyce was one of the first Caribbean performers to become well-known in the city's nightclub scene, while the Living Room was an intimate and often crowded basement venue. Chapman specializes in entertainment history, and his book includes dozens of images of event posters as well as photographs showing the venues, watering holes, performers, and other personalities who made Vancouver nights regularly memorable and sometimes rowdy.

TOP: CITY OF VANCOUVER ARCHIVES CVA 677-166. LOWER: ROGER VICKERS ARCHIVES. IMAGES EXCERPTED WITH PERMISSION FROM THE PUBLISHER.

were used by Mary to create *Supper Table* (1969), which cemented her now-iconic style.

Art and Rivalry balances rich descriptions of artworks with discussions of their meanings and the circumstances under which they were created. The book also includes several photographs of the Pratts.

Bishop-Gwyn, who is a former journalist and CBC Radio arts producer, tracks a broad evolution of the late-twentieth-century Canadian art market through the lives of the two artists. She also provides a comprehensive look at a unique spousal relationship and the difficulties associated with sharing a sometimes high-stakes profession. — *Henrietta Roi*

The Stories Were Not Told: Canada's First World War Internment Camps
by Sandra Semchuk
University of Alberta Press,
308 pages, $34.99

One of Canada's shameful moments — the internment of Ukrainians and other "enemy aliens" during the First World War — is portrayed in Sandra Semchuk's book *The Stories Were Not Told*. During the war years and after, thousands of immigrants from central and eastern Europe were held in camps across the country.

The little-known internment is brought to life thanks to in-depth research that included interviews with the families of the people who were directly affected. While most of the survivors of the camps have long since passed away, some of their stories are told by their children and grandchildren.

This elicits an interesting discussion on memory and how it affects the remembrance of such horrible events. The book also compares and contrasts this tragedy with experiences of Japanese Canadians during the Second World War and Indigenous people in residential schools.

Among the stories that are now told are acts of resistance by the internees, such as when some of them refused to perform work until they were granted time off on a holy day. "I would rather be put to death on this day than trample upon my faith," one internee said.

Semchuk is the winner of a Governor General's Award in Visual and Media Arts, and her book is filled with photographs from the time of the internment as well as contemporary photographs she made in places where the camps were located. — *Joel Trono-Doerksen*

The Golden Boy of Crime: The Almost Certainly True Story of Norman "Red" Ryan
by Jim Brown
Collins, 279 pages, $24.99

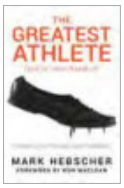
Jim Brown, a journalist of thirty years and a CBC Radio personality, was asked if he wanted to write a book about a bank robber. He was initially unsure but slightly intrigued at the prospect. But after discovering what passed as journalism in the early twentieth century, Brown was hooked.

Writing his biography of the gangster Norman Ryan was not entirely a labour of love. Ryan was a malicious, handsome, murderous, charming, misunderstood, narcissistic mastermind, a punk, a genius inventor, a thieving reprobate — and a poet. In *The Golden Boy of Crime*, Brown examines the "wild, fascinating mess" of Ryan's exploits with much humour and insight.

Ryan was known within some circles as "Red." But it was Ernest Hemingway, no less — on his first assignment for the *Toronto Star* — who first called him "Red" Ryan in print. Hemingway also fabricated nicknames for other members of Ryan's crew.

Brown's book includes many images that offer a sense of the hyperbole and drama that propelled the news stories of the 1920s and early 1930s. These stories laid the foundation for Ryan's serendipitous meeting with Prime Minister R.B. Bennett, his brief flirtation with being a "responsible citizen," and his ultimate demise in 1936 with "the life shot out of him" by police. — *Tanja Hütter*

The Greatest Athlete (you've never heard of): Canada's First Olympic Gold Medallist
by Mark Hebscher
Dundurn Press, 248 pages, $21.99



Ask a Canadian about this country's first Olympic gold medal winner, and chances are that the athlete's name won't easily come to mind. Author, sports commentator, and television personality Mark Hebscher was asked that same question and discovered that he didn't know the answer, either.

That realization led him on what he calls a "bewildering two-year odyssey" to learn all he could about a little-known Canadian. In *The Greatest Athlete (you've never heard of)*, Hebscher tells the story of George Orton, who was paralyzed as a child and told that he might never walk again but went on to become one of the greatest athletes of his generation.

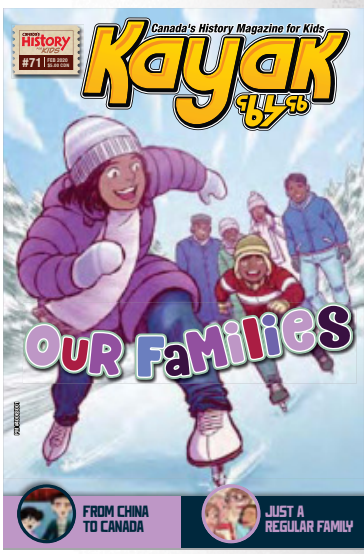
At the 1900 Paris Olympics, Orton won the gold medal in the 2,500-metre steeplechase event — but, in an era when athletes did not compete for their countries, he was later incorrectly listed as being an American. Perhaps this was because Orton, who was born in Canada, competed for the University of Pennsylvania.

It was more than seventy years before the mistake was finally corrected and his victory credited to Canada. Mark Hebscher's book *The Greatest Athlete (you've never heard of)* tells the story of an athlete who, the author says, should be celebrated but "somehow landed in history's dustbin." — *Dave Baxter*

CANADA'S
HISTORY
HBC 350TH SPECIAL ISSUE
ADVENTURERS!
THE EPIC TALE OF HOW HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY SHAPED THE FATE OF NORTH AMERICA

CANADA'S NATIONAL HISTORY SOCIETY

2019-2020 ANNUAL REPORT



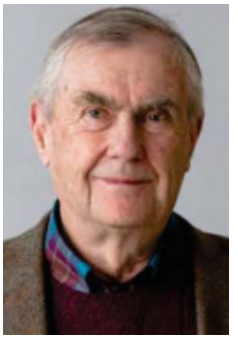
CANADA'S HISTORY

Telephone operators in High River, Alberta, wear masks during the influenza epidemic of 1918–20. In 2020, Canadians are again wearing masks — this time to stop the spread of the SARS-CoV-2 virus.

MESSAGE FROM THE CHAIR

As crisis calls Canadians together during this COVID-19 pandemic, we turn to history for inspiration.

We remember the dedication of Canadian physicians who fought to save patients a century ago, working to levels of exhaustion and their own loss of life during the influenza pandemic of 1918–20. This experience affected families and communities everywhere and led to the creation of a new national health department to manage valued resources during future public health crises.



Michael Rea

We recall the resilience and determination of Canadian researchers — including Frederick Banting, Charles Best and their team — who discovered a dramatic new treatment for diabetes in 1921. Thanks to their efforts and ingenuity, insulin today helps millions of people worldwide to control their disease.

Throughout the past, when things seemed most dark, Canadians have always found a way.

Consider the Second World War, which ended seventy-five years ago this September. Canada and its allies stepped up on all fronts and over many years to defeat fascism. The risk was enormous, and the challenges were daunting. But Canadians persevered.

History abounds with stories of dedication, resolve, and resilience. We also see that today, as Canadians respond to the COVID-19 pandemic. We see teachers, students, and parents embracing new technologies and new ways of learning. We see companies and communities finding new ways to unite Canadians despite the realities of physical distancing.

History tells us that there is hope for whatever the future might throw our way.

As we head into the fall of 2020, Canada's History Society will continue to share the inspiring stories of Canadians, both past and present. It is encouraging that continued community collaboration is at the forefront of our new reality, with technology bringing us together as never before.

Wishing you good health, shared stories of united experience, and enduring inspiration.

— Michael Rea

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Canada's History Society was founded in 1994 to popularize Canadian history. The Society's work includes *Canada's History* magazine, CanadasHistory.ca, *Kayak: Canada's History Magazine for Kids*, and the Governor General's History Awards.

HUDSON'S BAY

The Hudson's Bay Company History Foundation is the history society's founding patron. It remains our largest private donor, providing an annual grant essential to supporting the delivery of our programs.

On the Cover:
Clockwise from top left: The April-May 2020 issue of *Canada's History*; Yukiko Stranger-Galey and Derek Tan of the Beaty Biodiversity Museum accept the Governor General's History Award for Excellence in Museums: History Alive! from Her Excellency, the Right Honourable Julie Payette, Governor General of Canada; the February-March 2020 issue of *Canada's History*; 2019 Young Citizen Jonathan Lavalley; the February 2020 issue of *Kayak*; Governor General's History Award recipients and youth award recipients gather for a gala celebration in Gatineau, Quebec; Governor General's History Award for Popular Media: the Pierre Berton Award winner Sylvia D. Hamilton, right, speaks at the Canada's History Forum in Gatineau, Quebec.

TOP LEFT: UNIVERSITY OF CALGARY ARCHIVES AND SPECIAL COLLECTIONS/NA-3452-2

Governor General Julie Payette (front row centre) at Rideau Hall in Ottawa with recipients of the 2019 Governor General's History Awards and Canada's History Society President & CEO Janet Walker (front row far right). Front row, left to right: Jean-Philippe Payer, Josée Grandmont, Yvette Isabelle, Shirley Tillotson, Julie Payette, Sylvia D. Hamilton, Yukiko Stranger-Galey, Derek Tan, and Janet Walker. Back Row, left to right: Robert Bell, David Brian, Stephen Punga, Kayla Dallyn, Genevieve Soler, Jock Martin, Heather Ragot, Heather Jefkins, Robin Folvik, and Anna Rambow.

CELEBRATING CANADA'S HISTORY MAKERS

On January 20, 2020, Her Excellency the Right Honourable Julie Payette presented the Governor General's History Awards. In her opening remarks, Her Excellency emphasized the importance of history, saying, "Without understanding our past, we cannot make sense of the present, and we can't build a better future."

The day prior, the recipients presented their award-winning work at the Canada's History Forum, held at the Canadian Museum of History in Gatineau, Quebec. This year's forum, "Small Stories, Big Ideas" explored the idea that a single story can compel us to explore larger themes and concepts in Canadian history.

The annual History Makers Gala, sponsored by TD Bank Group, was a night of celebration for the whole history community. In addition to honouring the award recipients, the theme of the gala, In Good Company, marked the 350th anniversary of the Hudson's Bay Company. The opening reception, sponsored by Power Corporation of Canada, featured lively Metis-style music by local group Fiddleground. As guests moved into the Grand Hall of the Canadian Museum of History, they were treated to a spectacular evening of great food, conversation, and company. The evening ended with a moving musical performance by award-winning duo Twin Flames.

Jennifer Moore Rattray toasts the ancestors of Hudson's Bay Company workers at the History Makers gala.

The Governor General's History Awards include honours in five categories: teaching, scholarly research, popular media, museums, and community programming. These prestigious awards celebrate the very best in Canadian history and inspire us all to learn more about Canada's diverse and fascinating stories.

TOP: MCPL MATHIEU GAUDREAULT, RIDEAU HALL, OSGG BSGG, 2020. BOTTOM: BRITTANY GAWLEY.

OLD-SCHOOL DIY

YOUR GUIDE TO SURVIVING CANADA THROUGHOUT THE AGES

FROM SCURVY CURES AND FLU FIXES TO CANOE CRAFTING, IGLOO CARVING, AND MORE!

BY BROOKE CAMPBELL, KAITLIN VITT, AND MARK REID
ILLUSTRATIONS BY TIERRA CONNOR

HOW TO MAKE SPRUCE BEER

The February-March 2019 *Canada's History* magazine article "Old-School DIY" received two National Magazine Awards nominations.

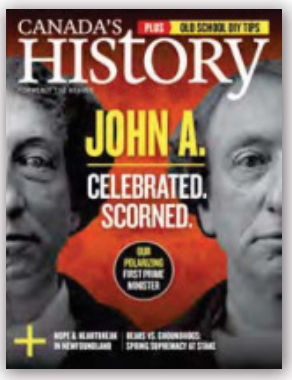
CREATING COMPELLING CONTENT

The 2019 publishing year saw *Canada's History* magazine continue to tell stories of peoples and groups who have for too long been pushed to the margins of official history texts.

The magazine featured a host of compelling stories, including the tale of Indigenous Toronto before European settlement; the story of how same-sex activity came to be decriminalized in the 1960s; and the biography of an Ontario woman who became Canada's first global fashionista.

Several key anniversaries were covered by the magazine, including the one hundredth anniversary of the Winnipeg General Strike and the seventy-fifth anniversary of the D-Day invasion of Normandy, France.

We also published a special feature package to commemorate a century of the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada.



The February-March 2019 issue of *Canada's History*.

In the fall of 2019, Editor-in-Chief Mark Collin Reid toured the Netherlands for a story on how that country is celebrating the seventy-fifth anniversary of its liberation by Canadian soldiers during the Second World War. Another article, "Old-School DIY," published in February 2019, recently received two nominations from the National Magazine Awards for excellence in storytelling and illustration.

Canada's History also continues to expand its reach online. For instance, the number of followers for our social media channels rose by 28.8 per cent (compared to the year previous) to 106,178 followers. Work has begun on two special video projects that will share compelling digital history content with both students and adult Canadians across the country. And our digital content is shared widely, with more users engaging deeply with stories and videos.

BEAVER TALES

Nearly a century ago, the Hudson's Bay Company launched an in-house newsletter that sought to bring together staff in cities and towns with those working in far-flung outposts across the Northwest.

Even in 1920, however, the magazine's editors had far greater ambitions for the publication — that's why they subtitled it "A Magazine of Progress." Today known as *Canada's History*, the magazine continues to fulfill the legacy of what was originally named *The Beaver*, sharing the diverse stories of Canada and Canadians everywhere.

Throughout 2019, the editorial team researched and prepared for the creation of a commemorative issue of the magazine that will celebrate a century of *The Beaver*. Drawing upon *The Beaver*'s vast photographic archival materials, held at the Archives of Manitoba, the magazine will showcase the peoples, lands, and wildlife of the Far North. It will also examine how the North was transformed over time as new technologies, transportation methods, and communication links connected southern Canada with its northern territories.

The editorial team continues to work on the special collector's issue, which will be published in October 2020.

***The Beaver* magazine will turn one hundred in October 2020.**

TOP LEFT: ILLUSTRATION BY TIERRA CONNOR

In 2019, *Kayak* magazine covered topics such as language, left, and the Second World War.

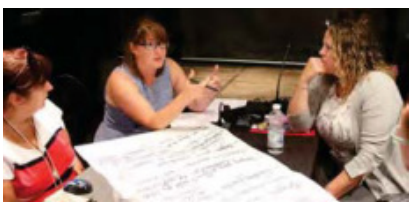
CONNECTING WITH KIDS

The goal of *Kayak* magazine is to bring Canada's past to life for our young readers by highlighting the fascinating people and events that have shaped our country. We publish four print issues and one online edition in English every year; the digital edition along with one print edition is available in French. In 2019 we extended our commitment by making all five issues available online in French. We also responded to teachers' needs by ensuring there is classroom material on our website to go with all issues in both official languages. As usual, the past year saw *Kayak* tackle a wide variety of themes, from labour history and bilingualism, to legendary ghosts and monsters, to the diversity of Canadian families. Our special digital issue explored the fur trade from a variety of perspectives.

SUPPORTING HISTORY EDUCATION AND RESEARCH

In August 2019 Canada's History Society hosted a national meeting of history educators at the McCord Museum in Montreal. The meeting brought together teachers, researchers, and museum educators from across the country for a series of conversations about history education and programming in Canada.

Dr. Carla Peck (University of Alberta), Dr. Lindsay Gibson (University of British Columbia), and Dr. Catherine Duquette (Université du Québec à Chicoutimi) also worked with attendees on their research project, "Thinking Historically for Canada's Future," which recently received a seven-year partnership grant from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council.



Teachers Lise Proulx of Quebec, Leah Judd of British Columbia, and Jennifer Tweedie of the Northwest Territories participate in a national educators meeting in Montreal.

JOANNA DAWSON

CANADA'S HISTORY BY THE NUMBERS

45%

Percentage of readers in households with children under eighteen years old.

30,000

Number of visitors who accessed the Canada's History Archive featuring *The Beaver* since its launch in late 2017.

99

Number of years since *Canada's History* magazine was first published.

795,000

Unique visitors to CanadasHistory.ca in the past year.

200

Number of Governor General's History Award recipients to date.

Winners of the Kayak Kids' Illustrated History Challenge, Indigenous Arts and Stories, and Young Citizens programs at the Canada's Youth History Awards in Gatineau, Quebec. From left: Anne-Florence Lafond, Hanna Sault-Hartwick, Gabriel Castilloux Calderon, Ashton Walker, Jonathan Lavalley, Aija Komangapik, Ella Capek, Penelope Siozos, Caitlin Croskery, Valerie Sia, and Karen Yan.

LEARNING FROM CANADA'S YOUNG STORYTELLERS

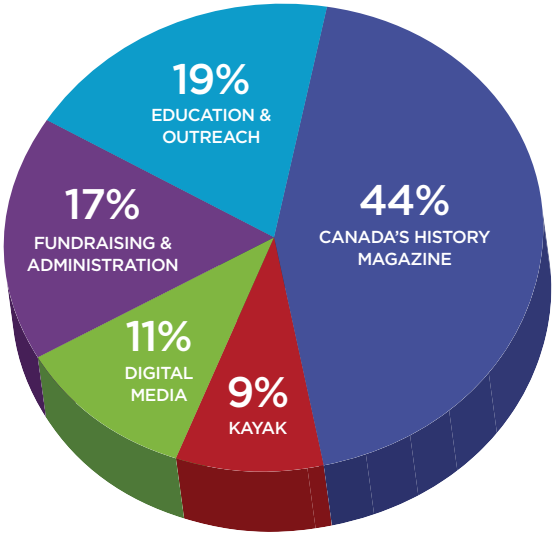
Young storytellers are critical to promoting a greater popular interest in our past. Through their unique lens, they share thought-provoking, creative, and engaging stories that contribute to a national conversation about Canadian history.

Our flagship youth program, Young Citizens, encourages students to transform their Heritage Fair projects into short videos for an online audience.

Since the Young Citizens program was launched in 2012, we have received more than 1,100 student videos. This collection is an incredible learning resource and a way for students to learn from their peers in different parts of the country.

In January, the winners of the 2019 Young Citizens program, along with the winners of the Kayak Kids' Illustrated History Challenge (a program of Canada's History Society) and the winners of the Indigenous Arts and Stories program (a program of Historica Canada), travelled to the Ottawa region for the first Canada's Youth History Awards. At a special ceremony in the Canadian History Hall at the Museum of Canadian History in Gatineau, Quebec, we honoured and celebrated the wonderful work of these young people.

CANADA'S HISTORY NATIONAL PROGRAM EXPENSES



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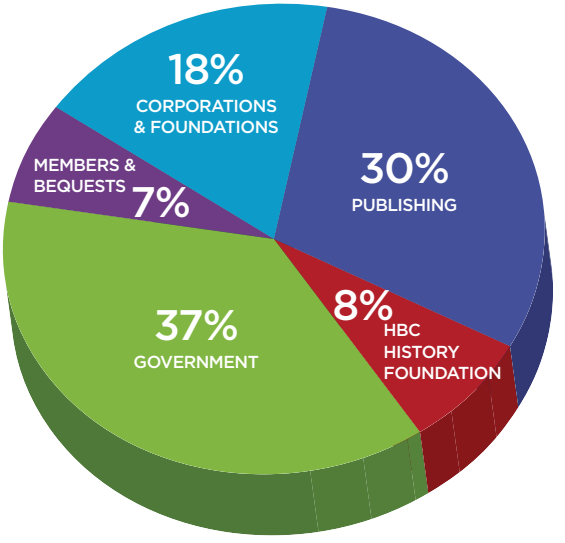

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CANADA'S HISTORY SOCIETY

The importance of understanding Canada by examining the histories of its peoples has been an anchoring belief of Canada's History Society. Established in 1994 through the generous support of the Hudson's Bay Company History Foundation, we bring relevance and awareness to our nation's diverse past, illuminating the people, places, and events that unite us as Canadians.

The society's work includes: *Canada's History* magazine, *Kayak: Canada's History Magazine for Kids*, CanadasHistory.ca, and the Governor General's History Awards.

SOCIÉTÉ HISTOIRE CANADA

L'importance de comprendre notre propre identité par le truchement de l'histoire est au cœur de la philosophie de la Société Histoire Canada. Le travail de la Société, fondée en 1994 grâce au généreux soutien de la Fondation d'histoire de la Compagnie de la baie d'Hudson, consiste à faire connaître le passé diversifié de notre pays et à l'ancrer dans le contexte actuel, mais également à mettre en valeur les gens, les lieux et les événements qui nous unissent en tant que Canadiens.

La Société offre notamment aux Canadiens le magazine *Histoire Canada*, le magazine *Kayak : Navigue dans l'histoire du Canada*, le site HistoireCanada.ca et les Prix d'histoire du Gouverneur général.

CANADA'S HISTORY · HISTOIRE CANADA · Kayak

HBC Corporate Collection. Used with permission. *Chief Trader Archibald McDonald Descending the Fraser, 1828* by Adam Sherriff Scott, ca. 1942.

Workers repose

My grandfather John Gerwing and his ten brothers came to Canada from Minnesota in 1902–3 to take homesteads in a block settlement called St. Peter's Colony, in a part of the North-West Territories that in 1905 became the province of Saskatchewan. The colony was organized by a group of Benedictine monks who set up an abbey near what is now the village of Muenster. They attracted mainly German-Catholic settlers from the United States.

My great-grandfather Henry Gerwing had eleven sons, one of them a stepson — many boys to try to set up in farming! The vast Canadian prairies, and offers of free or cheap land, were irresistible. All the brothers applied for homesteads, although two went back to the United States, and one died young of pneumonia after getting a chill while hunting. The eight men who stayed raised big families with lots of descendants, many of whom are still farmers in the area north of Humboldt, Saskatchewan.

To support the development of their homesteads, many young men worked in the winter. While the land was considered free, they had to pay a ten-dollar fee to register their homestead, and within three years they had to cultivate at least fifteen acres (about six hectares) and build a habitable house.

Rail lines offered one of the best ways to earn some extra cash, and this photo of a work gang was taken in 1904 on the CNR line between Kamsack and Saskatoon. The men are in a canvas tent held up by a log, sitting on cots that were made from rough-cut logs. They had the luxury of a small mirror hanging on the log post, but life in a tent during winter must have been cold.

John Gerwing, twenty-one years old at the time, is at the left in the back row. His brother Joe, then twenty, is beside him in the suspenders and light shirt. John and Joe both raised large families in the Lake Lenore area of Saskatchewan, and their descendants are part of the fabric of Western Canada today.

Submitted by Connie Gerwing of Prince Albert, Saskatchewan, the granddaughter of John Gerwing.

Do you have a black-and-white or colour photograph that captures a moment, important or ordinary, in Canada's history? If so, have it copied (please don't send priceless originals) and mail it to Album, c/o Canada's History, Bryce Hall, Main Floor, 515 Portage Avenue, Winnipeg, MB R3B 2E9. Or email your photo to album@CanadasHistory.ca. Please provide a brief description of the photo, including its date and location, details about people appearing in the photograph, and further information about the event or situation illustrated. Photos may be adjusted for presentation in the magazine.

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